

American University in Cairo

## AUC Knowledge Fountain

---

Theses and Dissertations

Student Research

---

2-1-2018

### "Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust" the royal Aq Quyunlu Khamsa of Nizami

Dalia R. al Nashar

Follow this and additional works at: <https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds>

---

#### Recommended Citation

##### APA Citation

al Nashar, D. (2018). *"Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust" the royal Aq Quyunlu Khamsa of Nizami* [Master's Thesis, the American University in Cairo]. AUC Knowledge Fountain.

<https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/421>

##### MLA Citation

al Nashar, Dalia R.. *"Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust" the royal Aq Quyunlu Khamsa of Nizami*. 2018. American University in Cairo, Master's Thesis. *AUC Knowledge Fountain*.

<https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/421>

This Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at AUC Knowledge Fountain. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of AUC Knowledge Fountain. For more information, please contact [thesisadmin@aucegypt.edu](mailto:thesisadmin@aucegypt.edu).

The American University in Cairo  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**“Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust,” The Royal  
Aq Quyunlu *Khamsa* of Nizami**

A Thesis Submitted to  
The Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

By  
**Dalia Reda al Nashar**

Under the supervision of **Professor Bernard O’Kane**

**December 2017**

The American University in Cairo

**“Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust,” The Royal  
Aq Quyunlu *Khamsa* of Nizami**

A Thesis Submitted by

**Dalia Reda al Nashar**

To the Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

**December 2017**

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
The degree of Master of Arts

Has been approved by

Dr. Bernard O’Kane  
Thesis Committee Advisor \_\_\_\_\_  
Professor, Arab and Islamic Civilizations Department. American University in Cairo.

Dr. Ellen Kenney  
Thesis Committee Reader \_\_\_\_\_  
Assistant Professor, Arab and Islamic Civilizations Department. American University  
in Cairo.

Dr. Chahinda Karim  
Thesis Committee Reader \_\_\_\_\_  
Adjunct Faculty, Arab and Islamic Civilizations Department. American University in  
Cairo.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Dept. Chair

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean of HUSS

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## **Dedication**

To my parents  
for their love, endless support and encouragement.

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to thank my professor and supervisor, Bernard O’Kane, for the patient guidance, encouragement and advice he has continually provided. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor O’Kane for his valuable teaching, his support and the space he gave me to express my opinions and thoughts in every paper and assignment during his exceptional courses. It is because of his course, “The Arts of the Book,” that I was introduced to the fascinating field of illustrated manuscripts and to this thesis topic. I thank him for every assignment he gave us, especially the “Quotes to affirm and challenge,” which, most importantly, taught me how to look and build an opinion, while taking into account other arguments and attributions. It has been an honor to be one of his students.

I’d also like to give my special thanks to Esra Müyesseroglu, the Images and Rights Manager at the Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul, for her generous help in enabling me to obtain a high-resolution digital copy of the manuscript, without which it would have been impossible to complete this thesis. At the same time, I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Fethiye Erbay at Bogazici University in Istanbul for the great effort she made to grant me permission to examine the manuscript.

I would also like to thank the professors and secretaries at the Arab and Islamic Civilization Department at the American University in Cairo for their encouragement and support throughout my degree course. I thank Professor Ellen Kenney, who through her exceptional teaching methods, helped me think outside the traditional pattern, and gave me a valuable experience during my time as her teaching assistant. Additionally, I would

like to express my appreciation and thanks both to Professor Chahinda Karim and Professor Eleonora Fernandes for their superb courses that I enjoyed very much. A special thanks to Madame Maggi and Marwa Sabry, whose help and kindness made it possible for me to continue my studies and pursue my interest in Islamic art. Further, I would like to thank Mrs. Nadia Niazi Mustafa, who, due to her kind assistance to the Egyptian students in the department, I was able to focus on and complete my studies. Finally I wish to thank my mother, who believed in me and supported me, as well as my father who made me fall in love with Islamic architecture from a very early age by taking me to my first field trips in old Cairo.

## Table of Contents

<b>Dedication</b>	i
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	ii
<b>Table of Content</b>	iv
<b>Introduction</b>	1
<b>Chapter One: Historical and Literature Review</b>	4
1.1 The Political and Cultural Milieu from the Mid-Fifteenth to the Early Sixteenth Century	4
1.2 Review of the Literature	9
<b>Chapter Two: About The Royal Aq Quyunlu Nizami <i>Khamsa</i></b>	14
<b>Chapter Three: Stylistic Analysis of this <i>Khamsa's</i> Illustrations</b>	48
3.1 Composition	48
3.2 Architectural and Decorative Features	86
3.3 Landscape Settings	90
3.4 Human Figures, Animals and Fantastical Creatures	92
3.5 Color Scheme	94
<b>Chapter Four: Style, Grouping and Attributions</b>	37
4.1 Grouping the Illustrations	97

4.2 This <i>Khamisa</i> 's Illustrations and Istanbul Albums	105
4.3 This <i>Khamisa</i> 's Artists	108
<b>Conclusions</b>	114
<b>Abbreviation</b>	116
<b>Bibliography</b>	117
<b>Figures</b>	122

## Introduction

...[A]nd our reason for relating this narrative is as follows. Before now the late padishah Babur Mirza intended to complete this eloquent book, which is attributed to the “Treasure of Ganja,” scatterer of riches from the treasure house of the *Khamsa*, Sultan of Poets Nizami, and commanded Azhar, who was one of the rarities of his age in calligraphy, to copy it. Not yet had [Babur Mirza] plucked the rose of desire from the garden of completion when the barren wind of autumn of fate left not a leaf on the tree of his life.

Thereafter, Pir-Budaq Mirza was seized by the same desire [to have the work completed]. Still unsuccessful, he withdrew the foot of his life into the skirt of death, and he too, not having quaffed of this goblet, carried the baggage of existence to the waystation of nothingness.

Thereafter, Sultan Khalil, son of Sultan Hasan, desired to have it completed. He had it copied by Anisi, who had snatched the ball of precedence from his peers; and for the painting he commissioned Master Shaykhi and Master Darwish Muhammad, who were second only to Mani. Scarcely had one of the “Five Treasures” been completed when the patrol of misfortune shackled the hand of his prosperity, and he too stopped in the lane of annihilation, turning over his workshop to his brother, Ya‘qūb. He too strove to have it finished and exerted much effort, but suddenly the victor death seized him by the collar, and he too stepped into the wildness of nonexistence.

In accordance with the saying, “Many a wish has turned to dust,” none of them was able to achieve this goal or drink in fulfillment from the goblet of competition. Although all wished it, it was but in their keeping during their days. [however], in the felicitous time if the Leader of Mankind, His Exalted Highness, Shadow of God, Refuge of the World, who was prefigured in the Qur’ānic verse, “and mention in the book of Ishmael,” ... bestower of crowns and thrones ... in accordance with God’s word, “the earth shall be inherited by my pious servants,” it was completed as wished through the care and concern if His August Majesty.<sup>1</sup>

By those rhetorical words, the convoluted history of an illustrated copy of Nizami’s *Khamsa* (*Quintet*) was documented. This *Khamsa*, known today as the royal Aq Quyunlu *Khamsa* of Nizami, took almost half a century to be completed, during which it exchanged hands between a line of patrons, Timurid: Abu’l-Qasim Babur (d. 1457), Qara Quyunlu (Black Sheep) Turkman: Pir Budaq (d. 1466), Aq Quyunlu (White Sheep) Turkman: both Khalil (d. 1478) and his brother Ya‘qub (d. 1490) and finally Safavid:

---

<sup>1</sup> Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Roemer, “The Türkmén,” 169.

Shah Isma‘il (d. 1524). This *Khamsa*’s history can be seen through the change in its *nasta‘liq* calligraphy, from Azhar to ‘Abd al-Rahim al-Khwarazmi and finally to an unknown calligrapher who wrote the postscript, and in the changes in the style of its twenty-two illustrations. One way or another, this *Khamsa* reached the Ottoman treasury, and today it’s part of the Topkapi Sarayi Library collection under the archive number Hazine 762.

According to the manuscript’s two colophons and postscript, what is represented today in the manuscript is the work of calligraphers and artists who worked under one or both patrons Ya‘qub and Shah Isma‘il. The common ground between the two periods is the location where the manuscript was begun and completed, which is the royal workshop in Tabriz, *Dar al-Saltana*. The limited number of surviving royal manuscripts known to scholars produced during this troubled period, especially those stating Tabriz as their location of production, makes this *Khamsa* a milestone in the history of Persian painting.

Although recent studies were dedicated to the production of manuscripts, either illustrated or not, during the Turkman and the early Safavid period, none was confined to the production of the royal workshop in Tabriz. The elements of the manuscript, especially its illustrations, were used by earlier scholars either as a case study for the influences of the Herat and Shiraz Timurid school on Turkman illustrations, or how the Safavid school was influenced by the Turkman style, but never as real evidence of how artists were given the freedom to experiment with new features to reach a new style.

Based on the above, there is still progress to be made regarding the understanding of the experimentation that took place in the Tabriz workshop in an attempt to assemble a distinctive pictorial style that would distinguish Aq Qyunlu work from Safavid. Thus,

with the aid of several recently released studies, this thesis will attempt to show how artists in the Tabriz workshop, under both the Turkmans and the Safavids, studied earlier and contemporary Persian paintings and forged a new pictorial style that would distinguish their dynasty, either the Turkman or the Safavid.

## **Chapter One**

### **Historical and Literature review**

#### **1.1 The Political and Cultural Milieu from the Mid-Fifteenth to the Early Sixteenth Century**

During the period from the mid-fifteenth century until the early sixteenth century, the most powerful force in western Iran were the Turkman of the Qara Quyunlu (Black Sheep; 1378-1468) and the Aq Quyunlu (White Sheep; 1378-1508), especially after the death of Shah Rukh (r. 1405-1447). In the late fourteenth century, Qara Yusuf, an officer in the service of the Jalayirid Sultan Ahmad, founded the Qara Quyunlu, while during the same period Qara Yoluq ‘Usman Beg (d. 839/1435) founded the Aq Quyunlu. In the early fifteenth century, Qara Yusuf took Tabriz and proclaimed it the Qara Quyunlu capital. By the time of his death in 1420, he dominated most of Azarbayjan and ‘Iraq-i ‘Ajam. Iskandar, Qara Yusuf’s son, succeeded him and extended his territory to include Shirvan and Sultaniya in 1428, but he was murdered in 1438. On the other hand, Qara ‘Usman was succeeded by his sons ‘Ali Beg (d. 842/1438) and then followed by Hamza Beg (d. 848/1444), who did not accomplish much regarding extending the Aq Quyunlu territories.

Iskandar’s young brother, Jahan Shah, had been appointed to succeed him in Tabriz by Shah Rukh in 1436. Jahan Shah kept on ruling in Shah Rukh’s name until the latter’s death in 1447, and then he declared himself independent. Jahan Shah took over ‘Iraq-i ‘Ajam, Isfahan, Fars and Kirman and began to control the coast of Oman. During the same period, the son of ‘Ali Beg, Jahangir, was crowned the new Aq Quyunlu ruler,

and he was able to recover some of the lands that were seized by the Qara Quyunlu, but the Aq Quyunlu's internal disputes prevented him from further expansions, and to consolidate his confederation.<sup>2</sup> Jahangir sent his brother, Uzun Hasan, who succeeded in putting an end to some of the internal disputes. In the summer of 857/1453, Uzun Hasan took advantage of his brother's absence and seized Diyarbakir and declared himself the new Aq Quyunlu ruler. Jahangir, in spite of his many attempts, was unable to regain his position and died in 874/1469. In 1458, Jahan Shah took Herat, the Timurid capital, but only kept it for a short period before he was forced to leave it to the Timurid ruler, Abu Sa'id (d. 1469). Jahan Shah's eldest son, Pir Budaq, was assigned governor of Shiraz, but he was moved to Baghdad in 1460. In 1465, Pir Budaq rebelled against his father, but Jahan Shah took Baghdad after a year's siege, and Pir Budaq was put to death.

Uzun Hasan's territories were surrounded by the Ottomans to the west, the Qara Quyunlu and the Timurids to the east and the Mamluks to the south. As a form of alliance, Uzun Hasan formed a family link with Shaykh Junayd, the chief of the Safavid order in Ardabil (851-64/1447-60), by giving Shaykh Junayd his sister Khadija Begum in marriage. Uzun Hasan overcame the Qara Quyunlu threat in a surprising attack in 872/1467 over Jahan Shah, and killed him while he was on a hunting trip. In 1470, the Aq Quyunlu became one of the great powers in Persia, especially after the death of the Timurid ruler Abu Sa'id.<sup>3</sup> Uzun Hasan removed his capital from Diyarbakir to Tabriz, which had been the capital of the Il-Khanids, the Jalayirids and the Qara Quyunlu.

Uzun Hasan died in 882/1478 at the age of fifty three, leaving a Turkman empire even larger than that lost to him eleven years earlier by Jahan Shah, the Qara Quyunlu

---

<sup>2</sup> Roemer, "The Türkmén," 169.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 175.

ruler. It extended from the upper reaches of the Euphrates to the Great Salt Desert of central Iran, the province of Kirman in south Persia, and from Transcaucasia to Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. For nearly five years after the death of Uzun Hasan, there was a serious disruption in Aq Quyunlu territories, either by dynastic dissension or foreign invasions.<sup>4</sup> The internal dispute was the result of conflict between Uzun Hasan's two sons, Sultan Khalil and Ya'qub Beg, over succession to the throne. A war came between the two brothers, and in 883/1478 a battle near the town of Khuy, northwest of Tabriz, Ya'qub's troops defeated Sultan Khalil's army and killed him, leaving the road open to Tabriz, and Ya'qub became the new sultan of the Aq Quyunlu.<sup>5</sup>

Ya'qub faced two external threats, the Ottomans and the Mamluks. The Ottomans were led by Muhammad the conqueror, who decided not to march into Aq Quyunlu territories. On the other hand, the Mamluk sultan in Cairo, al-Ashraf Qaytbay, sent a large expedition force under the command of the chief executive secretary Yashbak, the same Mamluk officer who had stopped Uzun Hasan's invasion of Syria in 877/1473. The invaders crossed the Euphrates after overcoming some rebellious forces in Syria and laid siege to the citadel of Ruha, but his forces were defeated and he was executed. This led to reconciliation between the al-Ashraf and Ya'qub, the Mamluk prisoners returned to Cairo from Tabriz, and an apology was made for the execution of Yashbak. Al-Ashraf Qaytbay liberated the Aq Quyunlu prisoners held since 877-878/1473, and allowed the pilgrims to enter the Hijaz for the first time since the death of Uzun Hasan.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, 125.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

Historians have two dates regarding the date Ya‘qub ascended the throne; some give 883/1478, after his troops defeated Sultan Khalil, while others give 886/1481, which marks the true beginning of Ya‘qub’s first years of independence after the defeat and death of his general Bayandur, who previously had full control over his throne.<sup>7</sup> Ya‘qub later placed his relatives and individuals attached directly to him in important positions. Under Ya‘qub’s reign, the Aq Quyunlu had good relations with each of the Timurids, the Mamluks and the Ottomans, and this included trade and exchange between Tabriz and Herat, Cairo and Istanbul.<sup>8</sup> Tabriz flourished under Ya‘qub and numbers of building were constructed including hostels, markets, warehouses, baths and canals.

In Ya‘qub’s court, there was quite an interest in historical writing, literature, science and the arts, including calligraphy and illustrated manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> This can be seen in Jami’s work, the great Naqshabandi mystic and classical poet in residence at Sultan Husayn Bayqara’s court in Herat. Jami not only corresponded with Ya‘qub on several occasions, but also dedicated his version of the allegorical romance *Salaman and Absal* to Ya‘qub and his brother Yusuf, in addition to several shorter panegyrics, which Jami dedicated to Ya‘qub.<sup>10</sup>

During this period, Ya‘qub’s cousin and brother-in-law, Haydar Safavi, was active in the north, where he became the head of the Safavid order in Ardabil. Haydar followed his father Junayd’s footsteps and was joined by many of his father’s followers from the extreme Shi‘a Turkman tribes of Syria and Anatolia. The Safavid Sufi order at Ardabil was founded by Shaykh Safi al-Din Ishaq in the late fourteenth century, and by

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 128 and 131.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 136-137.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 138.

the second half of the fifteenth century, the Safavid Shaykhs became more involved in politics. In 1488, Haydar raised an army to invade Georgia and had to cross through Shirvan. This led the Aq Qyunlu sultan to send an army to defend the city, which ended with the defeat of Haydar's troops, and his death. Sultan 'Ali Mirza, one of Haydar's seven sons, inherited his father's position, but shortly he was sent with his mother and his two brothers, Ibrahim and Isma'il, to Fars. They remained prisoners there for some years before returning to Ardabil with Sultan 'Ali Mirza returning as the head of the Safavid order.

Sultan Ya'qub died suddenly in 896/1490 and was followed by Baysunqur (d. 898/1493) and Rustam (d. 902/1497). In 1494, Sultan 'Ali Mirza was assassinated after naming his brother Isma'il as his successor. Isma'il was very young at this time, which led his mother to take him and his brother Ibrahim and hide in a safe place. In 900/1494, they were offered shelter by Karkiya Mirza 'Ali, the ruler of Lahijan, who appointed Shams al-Din Lahiji to instruct Isma'il in the study of the Qur'an and to teach him Persian and Arabic, since his native language was Azari Turkish. This education contributed to Isma'il's intellectual and social development. During his period in Lahijan, Isma'il made a close friendship with Amir Najm Zargar, who remained a close friend until Isma'il became Shah.<sup>11</sup>

In 1500, Isma'il was able to gather an army and by mid-1501 he defeated the Aq Qyunlu ruler of Azarbaijan and marched toward Tabriz. In 1503, Isma'il marched to Hamadan, Isfahan and Shiraz, where the local rulers welcomed him. Isma'il's consecutive victories over the Aq Qyunlu forces transferred political power into his

---

<sup>11</sup> Canby, "The World," 4.

hands and he founded Safavid rule in Tabriz. In 1510 he conquered Herat, the Timurid capital.

The Ottomans formed a continuing threat to the Safavid rule, which continued growing until the two forces meet in 1514 in the battle of Chaldiran, where Shah Isma‘il was defeated by Sultan Selim. The course of Isma‘il’s regime changed since then, and the Ottomans entered Tabriz, but the Safavids were able to return to their capital after a short while. This battle put an end to Safavid expansion into Anatolia, resulting in the loss of Diyarbakr and marked Shah Isma‘il’s last appearance in a battlefield. He died in 930/1524 after he fell ill on the way to a hunting trip. He was succeeded by his son, Shah Tahmasp (930-84/1524-76), which marked a new phase of the Safavid dynasty.

## **1.2 Review of the Literature**

Many studies mention this *Khamsa*’s illustrations to exemplify Turkman and early Safavid pictorial styles. The illustrations were usually used to show the Timurid Herat and Shiraz influence on the Turkman style, the Turkman contribution to the Safavid style, for dating loose paintings in some of the Istanbul albums, and to study the work of some artists known for their contribution to this manuscript. Ivan Stchoukine was one of the first scholars to discuss in detail this *Khamsa* in a number of his pioneering publications. In his 1954 *Les Peintures des manuscrits tîmûrides*, the illustrations dated to the Turkman period in this *Khamsa* were used as an example of Timurid Herat and Shiraz influences on Turkman illustrations; he even considered them a continuation of the Timurid pictorial style. In 1966 Stchoukine dedicated his article, “Les Peintures turcomanes et safavies: d’une Khamseh de Nizâmî, achevée à Tabrîz en 886/1481,” to the study of this

manuscript, giving a brief historical background of the manuscript and a very short stylistic analysis. He made superficial descriptions of the illustrations and the color palette of the 19 illustrations still intact in the manuscript, but no connections were made with any other style other than the Timurid. Stchoukine ended his contribution to this *Khamsa* in his 1977 *Les Peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizamî au Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi d'Istanbul*, where he introduced an interesting categorization depending on the illustrations' style. All the manuscript's illustrations were divided into four groups, each of which he ascribed to an artist.<sup>12</sup> A group of seven illustrations was attributed to Skaykhi and another group of five illustrations was attributed to Darvish Muhammad, who are the two artists mentioned in the colophon, while the rest of the illustrations, which he called "poor quality," were divided into two groups each of which was attributed to one of the two masters' students.<sup>13</sup> This interesting and tempting theory is based on the illustrations' style and composition, and on the assumption that the two artists continued working under the Safavids, but it was not supported by any solid evidence or convincing explanation.

The work of Stchoukine on the Turkman style as a unit was considerably expanded and refined by B.W. Robinson, who gave the Turkman style its individuality in the history of Persian painting through a number of publications, such as his 1979 "The Turkman School to 1503" and his 1991 *Fifteenth-Century Persian Paintings: Problems and Issues*.<sup>14</sup> In Robinson's studies, this *Khamsa* was one of many Turkman illustrated manuscripts that had specific characteristics of the Turkman style, but there was no deep

---

<sup>12</sup> Stchoukine, *la "Khamseh" de Nizami*, 80.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>14</sup> Robinson, "The Turkman School," 215-247.

investigation of the origin of the exceptional Turkman features represented in this *Khasma*'s illustrations, such as the dynamic arrangement of the vegetation in both "Bahram Gur in the green pavilion" and "Bahram Gur in the Yellow pavilion," although they are both mentioned in his work.

Around the same period, Martin Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch mentioned a connection between the Ilkhanid style, Chinese influences, the Fatih album illustrations and this *Khasma*'s Turkman illustrations in their 1981 *The Houghton Shahnameh*. This *Khasma*'s Turkman illustrations were represented by only one illustration, "Bahram Gur in the Green Pavilion," in which its "fairytale" style of depicting vegetation was explained as "expected to be found in Tabriz" with other Chinese influences, since it was a major trade center.<sup>15</sup> Dickson and Welch saw that the presence of those Chinese features formed a common ground between the Turkman and Ilkhanid styles, which were represented by the illustrations in the Great Mongol *Shahnama*. Instead of building more on the similarity between the Turkman and Ilkhanid styles, the authors saw that a second source of different motifs, including the Chinese one, was present in the illustrations of the Fatih album, which were dated to the Mongol, Jalayirid and other earlier dynasties.<sup>16</sup> The authors built their interpretation on the idea that we know with certainty that the Fatih album was assembled for Ya'qub, and was used by his artists as a source of motifs, although a strong resemblance in style can be noticed between this *Khasma* and other Jalayirid illustrations still intact in their original manuscript such as the *Diwan* of Khwaju Kirmani, which was produced in Baghdad in 1396. The authors provided interesting theories about different sources that influenced this *Khasma*'s Turkman illustration, but

---

<sup>15</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:20.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

without any deep study supported by different examples. The authors referred to the illustrations dated to the Safavid addition as examples of the early Safavid style which predated the Houghton *Shahnama*, which was the main topic of their book.

Most later studies skimmed through this manuscript either to confirm the Timurid continuation theory (but in a different style,) such as Eleanor Sims's 2002 *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and its Sources* and Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanindi's 1979 *Topkapi Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, or the Turkman contribution to the early Safavid style, such as Sheila R. Canby's "Safavid Painting."<sup>17</sup> Although he mentioned this *Khamsa* briefly in his *La Production manuscrite à Chiraz sous les Aq Qoyyunlu entre 1467 et 1503* Simon Rettig stated that these *Khamsa* illustrations represent a consummate and original art that is distinctly different from the classicism of the contemporary Timurid Herat style, even from the "naturalism" of Bihzad, and from the Turkman commercial style of Shiraz.<sup>18</sup>

"The complexity and perfection of what might be called the "first Herat style" of painting did not suddenly emerge without antecedents. On the contrary, the Herat painting of this period is not an original creation, but a final resolution. It does not break with existing traditions to establish new pictorial values. Rather, it transforms the existing variety of modes into a crystalline pictorial structure capable of many permutations while retaining its distinctive formal characteristics."<sup>19</sup> With those words Ernst J. Grube described the Timurid Herat style at the beginning of the fifteenth century, which came after a century of unique illustrated manuscript production under each of the Ilkhanid,

---

<sup>17</sup> Canby, "Safavid Painting," 73-133.

<sup>18</sup> Rettig, "La production," 244.

<sup>19</sup> Grube, "The School of Herat," 147.

Injuid, Jalayirid and Muzzafarid dynasties. In this thesis I will try to show how this *Khamsa*, with its exceptional illustrations, was one of the productions of the second wave of "transforming the existing" to introduce a new pictorial style that took place in the Tabriz royal workshop under both Ya'qub Aq Quyunlu and the Safavid Shah Isma'il.

## Chapter Two

### About The Royal Aq Quyunlu Nizami *Khamsa*

The royal Aq Quyunlu *Khamsa* (*Quintet*) of Nizami originally contained 315 text folios including 22 illustrated folios, three illuminated double pages; folios 1b-2a (figs. 3a-b), folios 25b-26a (figs. 7a-b) and folios 149b-150a (figs. 18a-b), four folios with illuminated headings; folio 100b (fig. 16), folio 201b (fig. 29), folio 278b (fig. 32) and folio 316b (fig. 35a), and three illuminated colophon; folios 147b (fig. 17), folio 316a (fig. 34) and folios 316b–317b (figs. 35a-c). Three illustrated folios were extracted from the manuscript, probably in the early twentieth century, leaving the work with only 312 text folios including 19 illustrations.<sup>20</sup> The manuscript opens with an illuminated double page frontispiece with a central textbox (ff. 1b-2a), and ends with a postscript dated to the sixteenth century on folios 316b-317b.<sup>21</sup>

The arrangement of this Nizami's *Khamsa* follows that of the earlier traditional copies, which were usually divided into five sections, one for each book, and arranged in the following order; *Makhzan al-asrar* (*Treasury of Mysteries*), *Khusraw and Shirin*, *Layla and Majnun*, *Heft Paykar* (*The Seven Portraits*) and finally the *Iskandarnama* (*The Book of Alexander*).<sup>22</sup> Most copies of the *Iskandarnama* are divided into two sections; the *Sharafnama*, which deals with Iskandar as a hero, and the *Iqbalnama*, which presents Iskandar as a philosopher and a prophet.<sup>23</sup> Each section of this *Khamsa* opens with a

---

<sup>20</sup> Robinson, "Persian and Pre-Mughal," 178.

<sup>21</sup> Blair, *Calligraphy*, 285.

<sup>22</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 5.

<sup>23</sup> Binyon, *The Poems*, 13.

blank double page, followed by either an illuminated double page or a text folio with an illuminated heading.

Every text folio includes a rectangular textbox, measuring 20.2 cm high and 12.6 cm wide, which in turn is divided into four vertical columns defined by three pairs of vertical lines with 25 horizontal lines inscribed in each column. The same sequence continues throughout the manuscript with section titles appearing within the rectangles as required. Some text in the *Khamsa* is inscribed diagonally with illuminated triangular corner pieces, as another decorative element in inscribing the verses for the optimal visual effect (fig. 4).<sup>24</sup> This work, like most Persian manuscripts, contains catchwords, which comprise the first word or two of the distich (couplet) on the verso of the same folio. The catchword is positioned at the bottom left of nearly every recto folio, providing a clear reference to the first word of the recto folio.

This *Khamsa*'s first section, *Makhzan al-asrar* (*Treasury of Mysteries*), is inscribed between folio 1b up to folio 24a, and originally included two illustrated folios. It opens with an illuminated double page frontispiece with identical layouts, in which the text area of both pages is enclosed on all four sides by a border of rectangular cartouches containing floral scrolls with a blue background. The horizontal rectangle at the top and bottom of each page is filled with light blue clouds and spiral scrolls, as well as flowers, Chinese rosettes and half-palmettes over a golden background. The horizontal rectangle comprises a central medallion with the title of the book written in red on a blue background. The inscription in the first medallion, at the top of folio 1b, reads *kitab Khamsa min kalam* (the book of *Khamsa* from the words of), in the second, at the bottom

---

<sup>24</sup> Simpson, *Haft Awrang*, 61.

of the same folio, reads *hakim Nizami Kijar* (the wise Nizami Kijar), in the third, at the top of folio 2a, reads *afdal al-shu'ara' wa'l-mutakallimin* (the best poets and speakers), and in the fourth, at the bottom of the same folio, reads *'alaihi al-rahma wa'l-ghufran* (may mercy and forgiveness be upon him).

The *mi'raj* (*Prophet's ascension*), today in the Keir Collection, was originally this *Khamsa's* first painting, and one of the two illustrated folios in *Makhzan al-asrar* (*Treasury of Mysteries*) book (fig. 5).<sup>25</sup> The *mi'raj* is the only religious subject in Nizami *Khamsa*, as a refer to the poem's religious significance, and it was commonly depicted in illustrated copies of the manuscript.<sup>26</sup> Although a description of the *mi'raj* appears at the beginning of each book of the *Khamsa*, it was customary to always illustrate the section in *Makhzan al-asrar*, but illustrating the *mi'raj* scene in other sections occur occasionally.<sup>27</sup>

This particular illustration is one of the most spectacular depictions of the *mi'raj* due to the special care given in rendering the details.<sup>28</sup> The illustration occupies the entire folio with a textbox containing couplets of poetry at the upper right and bottom left, demarcating the borders. The buildings display detailed colored decoration, and the date 1505 is inscribed in minute gold letters on the portal of the small building on a terrace behind the mound of rock in the left foreground.<sup>29</sup> All the human figures shown are depicted wearing the Safavid baton in their turban.

---

<sup>25</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube. *Peerless Images*, 151 and Robinson, "Persian and Pre-Mughal," 178.

<sup>26</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube. *Peerless Images*, 151 and Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 11.

<sup>27</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 11.

<sup>28</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube. *Peerless Images*, 151.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

The second illustrated folio in *Makhzan al-asrar*, “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman,” is in the fourth discourse entitled *On the Correct Governing of Subjects*, and concerns the behavior of kings toward their subjects (f. 12a, fig. 6).<sup>30</sup> This is the scene most frequently illustrated in *Makhzan al-asrar* book and usually shows the moment when an old woman stops the Sultan to complain of the abuse meted out to the poor by his officials and soldiers.<sup>31</sup>

Here, Sultan Sanjar and the old woman are illustrated in the lower half of the textbox, while the upper half is occupied with a four text columns. The two figures appear in the middle of a rocky landscape covered with tufts of grass and a golden horizon, in front of a highly decorated storied pavilion on the left of the scene with three upper domed balconies crowded with female attendants. Sultan Sanjar is seen riding his horse and accompanied by two mounted male attendants, one holding an umbrella over the Sultan’s head, while the other carries the Sultan’s bow and arrows. The old woman is shown in profile, holding the side of the Sultan’s garment, apparently having stopped him before he reaches his pavilion (fig. 43).<sup>32</sup> Others wearing the Safavid red baton in their turbans wait for the Sultan’s arrival in front of the pavilion entrance, and more are shown in the upper window. A further two male figures stand on the illustration’s outer frame at the bottom, and appear to observe the scene from a lower level (fig. 44).

With only the trees’ trunks visible below the four text columns, and the upper parts of different trees appearing behind the three domed balconies (fig. 42); the four columns of text were seen by some scholars as an interruption to illustration

---

<sup>30</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamseh*, 15-16.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16 and 18.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

deliberately.<sup>33</sup> The landscape bursts through parts of the upper and right sides of the gold-colored frame surrounding the illustration. Signs of either modification or incompleteness could be noticed in the bottom section of the scene (figs. 43-44).

*Khusraw and Shirin*, Nizami's second book, is inscribed between folios 25b and 99a. This section opens with an illuminated double page with a central two-columned textbox of horizontal rectangles above and below, as well as narrow vertical rectangles to the left and right. A narrow band of gold strapwork with flowers encloses the space of the box, while the outer margin has a band of dentated gold quatrefoils on a blue background with the customary blue darts issuing from the illumination on the three sides (ff. 25b-26a, figs. 7a-b). The four horizontal illuminated rectangles at the top and bottom of the pages contain central cartouches with the title of the book written in white on a gold ground. This book includes twenty-one discourses, seven including an illustrated folio that depicts a scene from the discourse, except for the seventeenth discourse where two scenes are illustrated, while it ends with a half-inscribed folio (f. 99a).

Of all the sections in the *Khamasa*, *Khusraw and Shirin* contains the most complete cycle of illustrations in most of the illustrated copies, showing at least one scene of each major phase in the relationship of the lovers.<sup>34</sup> This *Khamasa* follows the same tradition with eight scenes illustrated as follows:

- Khusraw watches Shirin bathing (fourth discourse, f. 38b, fig. 8)
- Khusraw's lion combat (eighth discourse, f. 46b, fig. 9)
- Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle (tenth discourse, f. 51b, fig. 10)
- Farhad carries Shirin on her horse (fifteenth discourse, f. 69a, fig. 11)

---

<sup>33</sup> Stchoukine, *la "Khamseh" de Nizami*, 71.

<sup>34</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 25.

- Khusraw visits Shirin's palace (seventeenth discourse, detached, fig. 12)
- Khusraw leaves Shirin's palace (end of seventeenth discourse, f. 82b, fig. 13)
- Khusraw and Shirin united (nineteenth discourse, f. 89b, fig. 14)
- The suicide of Shirin (twenty-first discourse, detached, fig. 15)

“Khusraw watches Shirin bathing” captures the moment when Khusraw sets his eyes on Shirin for the first time, as she breaks her journey to Khusraw's court to bathe in a pool (fig. 8).<sup>35</sup> The scene is illustrated at the center of the box between four text columns above and below the painting, except for the right side in which the artist extruded the illustration in to the margin.

The scene takes place in the middle of a densely detailed landscape in which the complex rendering of the outer lines in the landscape adds dynamism to the arrangement.<sup>36</sup> The overlapping green hills of landscape are filled with details including tufts of grass, blossoming flowers and trees with dense foliage and in various shades of green and gold. The figures of Khusraw and Shirin are in the same scale and Khusraw wears the Safavid turban with the red baton.

“Khusraw's lion combat” depicts the moment that Khusraw is poised to strike the attacking lion with his right fist, while everyone else, including Shirin, simply watches (fig. 9). The artist presents the main scene at the center of the textbox with four columns of text above and below the painting, and the landscape and surroundings to extrude into the margins, filling the entire folio. Again, all the figures are wearing the Safavid turban with the protruding red baton. A huge, highly decorated tent, a golden throne in front,

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 41-44.

<sup>36</sup> Stchoukine, *la "Khamseh" de Nizami*, 72 and idem, “Les peintures turcomanes,” 8.

dominates the pinkish rocky landscape with tufts of grass and colorful edges. The textbox's background is colored in gold and filled with trees, while the original color of the page acted as a background for the landscape that extruded in to the margin.

“Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” occupies the entire folio with columns of text inscribed in the same arrangement as in the texts of “Khusraw watching Shirin bathing” (f. 38b) and “Khusraw's lion combat” (f. 46a) paintings, while the main composition is formed of figures arranged in aligned groups and facing each other (fig. 10).<sup>37</sup> The absence of the Safavid red baton in the figures' turbans has led some scholars to suggest that this painting was illustrated under the Aq Quyunlu.<sup>38</sup>

Khusraw is shown sitting on a richly ornate throne of gold that rests on top of a gray elephant, and a small-scale figure holding a gold ewer stands behind him (fig. 56). All the figures depicted in front of Khusraw are facing the enemy, except for one who faces Khusraw instead and holds an astrolabe in his hand. According to the text, this figure is the Sultan's chief advisor Buzurg 'Umid.<sup>39</sup> On the other side, Bahram Chubin appears on horseback in the same arrangement with his advisor standing behind him (fig. 57). Some of the soldiers here are seen in attacking position while others are shown standing behind the rocky hillocks; except for a horseman in the middle who has a head fixed on the pike of his spire and is facing toward Khusraw's troops (fig. 62).

The scene takes place in a rocky landscape with tufts of grass and colorful edges, while the azure sky within the original textbox space is filled with delicate, golden Chinese clouds (fig. 58). Blue and gold parallel lines frame the whole illustration except

---

<sup>37</sup> Stchoukine, *la "Khamseh" de Nizami*, 72.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>39</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 57.

in some places where the rocky landscapes and a few flags waving in the breeze reach over into the margin.

“Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” (f. 69a, fig. 11) comes after a long conversation between the two lovers, Shirin prepares to return to her pavilion but Farhad sees that Shirin’s horse is exhausted and seems about to fall under her weight so Farhad decides to carry Shirin on her horse to her residence.<sup>40</sup> This unfinished illustration portrays Farhad carrying Shirin on her horseback while walking through the mountains toward Shirin’s pavilion.

The two protagonists appear in the left margin, while the original textbox space is filled with a golden valley that stretches along between overlapping grayish and dark green rocks bordered by thick foliage, cypresses and flowering shrubs at the bottom and more colorful hillocks of rock at the top. A sketch of what was intended to be a pavilion fills the entire background. In the margin on the right, more overlapping colorful rocks with a tree on top are depicted above a structure with figures standing inside it, while the bottom margin is filled with a decorated external wall with figures standing behind it (fig. 71). None of the figures wear the Safavid red baton in their turban.

Today in the Keir collection, “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” is originally the fifth illustrated folio of *Khusraw and Shirin* book (fig. 12). The illustration shows the moment Khusraw arrives at Shirin’s palace and is welcomed by the musicians but is not allowed to enter in accordance with Shirin’s orders. Meanwhile, she watches her beloved from a window at the top of the pavilion.<sup>41</sup> It has been suggested by some that this

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 77.

illustration is one of the earliest illustrations in this manuscript, and was probably commissioned under the patronage of Ya‘qub at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

This illustration is crowded with detail; in the decoration of the pavilion, the rocky landscape with tufts of grass, and in the flowers and full foliage trees with figures involved in various activities. The blue sky is filled with golden Chinese clouds, trees and birds, and with angels hiding behind the upper left edge of the text box or behind the trees in the upper part of the left margin. All the figures are portrayed wearing traditional Turkman headgear.

“Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” is filled with sketched-in details of the pavilion decoration, and again angels and Chinese clouds filling the sky, and the figures similarly depicted in the pavilion; indicating that this illustration was probably intended to be as full of detail as “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” (fig. 13).

“Khusraw and Shirin united” occupies the entire folio but is divided into two areas, an indoor space represented in Khusraw and Shirin’s private chamber, which is positioned at the edge of the text box; and the outdoor area in the royal garden surrounding the pavilion, which occupies the middle part of the right margin (f. 89b, fig. 14). The upper and lower margin are filled with colorful tents and figures that are portrayed either drinking, playing music, talking or serving food, in front of a golden background filled with trees. The royal garden is also filled with colorful tents and celebrating figures, is demarcated by a red fence and a dense area of large bushes. The two protagonists are portrayed making love in their chamber (fig. 87). One figure at the bottom right with strange facial proportions is shown in profile, his hand raised up and

---

<sup>42</sup> Robinson, “Persian and Pre-Mughal,” 178.

wearing a coned blue turban, while a male and female musicians are looking back at him as if they are playing music to him (fig. 91). Most of the figures here are shown wearing the Safavid turban with the red baton.

“The Suicide of Shirin,” now in the Keir collection, is originally the eighth *Khusraw and Shirin* illustrated folio and part of its twenty-first and last discourse (fig. 15). Like others in the manuscript, this one is also replete with details, making it hard to distinguish the two protagonists in the crowded scene. The illustration depicts the moment after Shirin took her own life and dies over Khusraw’s body.<sup>43</sup>

Khusraw’s mausoleum, where the main scene takes place, is shown as a tall domed structure with fine interior decoration. There are two main entrances, and the building is surrounded by an enclosure. The blue sky of this scene is filled with storks, Chinese clouds and, on the left, flying flags. The lower part of this illustration is populated with horses and figures depicted wearing the Safavid turban with the red baton.

*Layla and Majnun*, Nizami’s *Khamasa* third book, is inscribed between folios 100b to 148a and includes eleven discourses. This section does not open with an illuminated double page like the two previous sections, but opens instead with a text folio crowned by an illuminated heading that is filled with interlacing floral and *waq-waq* scrolls on a gold ground. The bordered rectangle incorporates a central blue cartouche with the title of the book written in gold on a blue background, and decorated with white spiral scrolls (fig. 16).

Despite its unique ‘*unwan* (heading), *Layla and Majnun* does not include any illustrated folios, although some of its discourses are well-illustrated in earlier and later

---

<sup>43</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamseh*, 91-92.

copies of Nizami's *Khamsa*, such as Layla and Majnun at school (first discourse), Majnun visits Layla's Encampment (second discourse), Majnun taken to the Ka'ba (third discourse), The Battle of the tribes (fourth discourse), Majnun in chains at the tent of Layla (sixth discourse) and Death of Majnun at the tomb of Layla (eleventh discourse). The *Layla and Majnun* book ends with the first colophon folio in this manuscript (f. 148a, fig. 17), which reads:

" تم الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب كتبه العبد الفقير المحتاج الي رحمه الله الغني عبد الرحيم بن عبد الرحمن الخوارزمي السلطاني سنة ثمانين و ثمانمائه الهجريه."

The text states that 'Abd al-Rahim al-Khwarazmi al-Sultani, the calligrapher, completed the copying of this book in 880/1475-6.

The *Haft Paykar* (*Seven Images*) book was Nizami's fifth and last work, with most copies placing it before the *Iskandarnama* (*The Book of Alexander*).<sup>44</sup> It deals with the life of Bahram Gur, son of Yazidgird, who first struggles to gain his father's throne and later become a great ruler.<sup>45</sup> The text is inscribed between folios 149a and 206a, and opens with an illustrated double page similar to that of *Khusraw and Shirin* (ff. 149b-150a, figs. 18a-b). The title of this book is not inscribed in any of the four cartouches incorporated in the illuminated double page but these are filled instead with floral and arabesque scrolls.

The *Haft Paykar* includes a series of seven stories; a mixture of romance and moral advice, told to Bahram Gur by seven different princesses in seven different pavilions.<sup>46</sup> The main theme chosen by most painters is Bahram Gur's meetings with the

---

<sup>44</sup> Binyon, *The Poems*, 27.

<sup>45</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 116.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

princesses in their pavilions while the scenes selected for illustration from Bahram's heroic adventures vary considerably from one school to another and from one manuscript to another.<sup>47</sup> In this section nine scenes are illustrated, only two from Bahram Gur's life (ff. 163b and 167a), while the rest all depict Bahram Gur's meeting with the princesses in their different colored pavilions.

"Bahram Gur enthroned" is the first illustrated folio of the *Haft Paykar* and part of the fourth discourse entitled *Bahram Gur's Lion Combat*, in which the illustration depicts the enthronement scene mentioned at the end of this discourse (f. 163b, fig. 20).<sup>48</sup> The painting is confined within the space of the text box except for two figures holding two horses, part of Bahram Gur's throne and the pavilion's dome, which are shown in the margin.

Bahram Gur is presented on his golden throne with a small cup in his hand, offered to him by a servant, who is depicted in profile and is very small-scale, kneeling beside the prince's throne (fig. 96). At the bottom right, musicians play, while servants carry ceramic bowls (fig. 94). The two figures portrayed on the right side holding two horses are considered to be the guards of the royal courtier (fig. 92).<sup>49</sup> The group of women at the upper right are shown beside the two-story domed pavilion watching the enthronement of the prince, while one woman is depicted embracing a tree and leaning forward, probably for a better view, while remaining hidden (fig. 95).<sup>50</sup> Other figures can be seen hiding behind the prince's throne, while others again are hiding behind a rocky hillock, on the upper left.

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 123.

<sup>49</sup> Stchoukine, "Les peintures turcomanes," 6.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

A green carpet of large-scale plants, bushes and flowers dominate the scene, while a pinkish rocky hillock separates the green landscape from the golden sky filled with Chinese clouds and flying birds. All the figures in this scene are wearing traditional Turkmen turbans.

“Fitna’s feat of strength” is the second illustrated folio of the *Haft Paykar* and part of the sixth discourse (f. 167a, fig. 21). Fitna, who was a female musician, is a character commonly seen in Nizami’s stories of Bahram Gur. She also appears in Firdausi’s *Shahnama* where she is known as Azadeh.<sup>51</sup> The story of Bahram Gur and Fitna starts when she refuses to praise Bahram Gur for his skills in hunting wild asses; claiming that the skill came from continuous practice rather than from any special strength. The angry Bahram Gur orders one of his officials to take her away and kill her, but she convinces the official to wait for a few days, during which time she reaches an agreement with the official. The official agreed to return to Bahram Gur and tell him that he had killed Fitna, if Bahram Gur showed grief then the official should spare her life, and if not he should kill her. The official agreed and when he took the fake news to Bahrām Gūr, the king showed grief. The official therefore spared her life and also took her to the sixty-stair pavilion.

Fitna carried a newborn calf up to the pavilion’s roof every day and she kept on doing that for six years until the calf had grown into an ox, and Fitna’s strength increased as the animal grew.<sup>52</sup> To prove her point to Bahram Gur, she persuaded the official to invite the king to a feast at the sixty-stair pavilion, which the official did. When Bahram Gur reached the top of the pavilion, he asked the official how he would climb so many

---

<sup>51</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamseh*, 123.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

stairs when he became sixty-years-old. The official told him it would be easy since he had a woman in his entourage who carried a six-year-old ox up those stairs every day.<sup>53</sup> Impressed, Bahram Gur asked to see the woman and so Fitna climbed the sixty stairs carrying the ox with a veil covering her face. When she reached the top of the pavilion, she offered Bahram Gur the ox as a present and asked him, “Who else could perform such a feat?” He replied that she had learned to do this gradually through continuous practice.<sup>54</sup> At this point, Fitna revealed herself and reminded the king how he had rejected her opinion when she had given the same explanation for his hunting skills.

In the scene, Fitna is carrying an ox and climbing a wooden ladder to the top of the pavilion, where Bahram Gur is seated, while the other figures in the scene watch her intently. The illustration is limited to the text box, except for part of the pavilion, which extrudes to the left margin and a couple of static figures depicted standing in the right margin. This scene’s figures appear in a wrong perspective, stiff and static with Turkman turbans over their heads.<sup>55</sup> The color palette and the rendering of the landscape are not different from the previous illustration (f. 163b), however; and here the sky is depicted in blue with clouds painted in different Chinese style (figs. 103-105).

“Bahram Gur at the black pavilion” is the third illustrated folio of the *Haft Paykar* and part of the seventh discourse (f. 171b, fig. 22). This story concerns Bahram Gur and the Indian princess, who welcomes the king in her black colored pavilion. The story of the black pavilion is the longest of the seven pavilion stories and contains numerous incidents, that could have been good material for illustrations, but the scene of Bahram

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>55</sup> Stchoukine, “Les peintures turcomanes,” 6.

Gur listening to the princess in the black pavilion has been the most frequently illustrated.<sup>56</sup>

The illustration is depicted within the textbox, except for the black dome of the pavilion, which extrudes into the upper margin, and also the three figures, leaning on each other in front of the rocky landscape, and depicted in the right margin (fig. 107). These three figures appear to be having a conversation with the servant standing in front of the pavilion entrance. Bahram Gur is shown wearing a Turkman turban and is reclining with his green cloak over him as he listens to the princess.

“Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” is the fourth illustrated folio of the *Haft Paykar* and is part of the eighth discourse (f. 177b, fig. 23). This scene involves Bahram Gur and the Greek princess, who welcomes the king in her yellow pavilion. Four small textboxes containing couplets of poetry indicate the original space of the textbox, which the artist did not follow; drawing instead his own frame in which he placed the pavilion and parts of the landscape. Bahram Gur and the princess are seen in an iwan that opens onto the rocky landscape with flowering plants and trees with thick foliage.<sup>57</sup> Bahram Gur is depicted lying down with his head resting on his hand, a black book beside him beneath a metal object and covered with his brownish color cloak, while the princess sits at his feet (fig. 111). An exotic, overlapping landscape spreads out in front of the pavilion’s iwan area, and is bordered by coral-like rocks with animal heads depicted in them (fig. 114).<sup>58</sup> The main dynamic in this illustration comes from the arrangement of the landscape and the young figures popping out of it, while the figures themselves

---

<sup>56</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamseh*, 130.

<sup>57</sup> Stchoukine, “Les peintures turcomanes,” 6.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

remain immobile.<sup>59</sup> One of the female figures is depicted embracing a tree trunk (fig. 112), in a similar way to the figure in the scene of Bahram Gur enthroned (f. 163b, fig. 95).

“Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” is the fifth illustrated folio of the *Haft Paykar* and is part of its ninth discourse (f. 180b, fig. 24). In this illustration Bahram Gur is depicted as a young reclining figure with his writing table and books next to him, as in the yellow pavilion scene, and listening to one of his female attendants reading beside him, while another massages his feet. This portrayal has led some scholars to suggest that the figure of Bahram Gur is a depiction of the young Aq Quyunlu ruler Ya‘qub Beg himself, who was a patron of the arts (fig. 115).<sup>60</sup> The pavilion occupies the lower left side of the page, while a wild, overlapping landscape of rocks and trees fills the remaining space on the page. This illustration contains only two text boxes containing couplets of poetry that are aligned in the lower part of the scene, where they interrupt the space of the pavilion. In the absence of any text boxes in the painting’s upper section, it is hard to indicate the space of the textbox, especially when the tradition of using the color of the horizon to indicate the space within the original textbox is no longer followed in this painting, among others in this *Khamsa*.

The landscape is considered as the dominant feature of the illustration and plays the role of the main scene due to the way it “burst from the frame’s constraints,” while the trees were described as “lollipops with imbricated leaves popping out of the rocks.”<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>60</sup> Robinson, “The Turkman School,” 242.

<sup>61</sup> Blair and Bloom, *Islam*, 68.

This wild landscape includes some figures popping their heads out from behind the rocks and two other figures with a horse shown in the bottom right margin (fig. 116).

The *Haft Paykar*'s tenth discourse includes an illustrated folio of "Bahram Gur at the red pavilion," which is the sixth illustration in this section (f. 183b, fig. 25). In this scene, the two protagonists are depicted as two lovers, while the male servants and the doorkeeper are asleep by the pavilion's external walls and gate. The two main figures are depicted on a bigger scale than the others and the sky is painted in gold with Chinese clouds, birds, trees and blossoms.

"Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion," is the seventh illustration of the *Haft Paykar* and is part of its eleventh discourse (f. 187a, fig. 26). This illustration is much busier and fuller in detail than the previous one. The illustration extends into the left margin, and the artist has surrounded the illustration with a gold-colored frame, which gives the impression that the illustration is depicted within the textbox. Bahram Gur and the princess are portrayed sitting on the top of a golden throne in a blue-colored enclosure, while a blue and white tent stands in the background. There are two doors in the enclosure, and a doorkeeper stands in front of each. The princess hands Bahram Gur a gold cup, while kneeling servants presenting gold platters is shown in front the throne, and performing musicians are shown beside it.

In the left margin, a huge green area is depicted with large-scale plants and flowers filling the ground, while a stream or a river flow through this green carpet and up to the space in front of the enclosure. Different kinds of trees are shown; the ones in front of the enclosure appear to be blown by the wind. The scene is filled with figures involved in different activities: a white-bearded man, for example; is sitting on what may be a

bridge linking the green space with the enclosure (fig. 130), musicians play, two women talk to each other while one of them is holding onto a tree trunk (fig. 132) and an angel looks out from the foliage of a tree (fig. 133). This painting was left incomplete, which can be seen in the unfinished details of the trees and the blue flooring of the polygonal courtyard.

“Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” is the eighth illustrated folio of the *Haft Paykar* and is part of its twelfth discourse (f. 192a, fig. 27). Signs of damage and restoration can be seen on the illustration, which may indicate that the text and the illustration of this folio were retouched at least once. In this illustration, Bahram Gur is depicted listening to the Chinese Turkestan princess story in the sandalwood pavilion.<sup>62</sup> The illustration occupies the folio’s full space, with four textboxes indicating the original space of the textbox. The scene is crowded with detail, both in the decoration of the pavilion and in the rendering of a landscape filled with blossoming trees, coral-like rocks and various animals.

The two protagonists are depicted in the same position as Bahram Gur in the green pavilion (fol. 180b), reclining and listening to the princess, while she is massaging his feet (fig. 136). The number of figures filling the scene are involved in different activities, a gardener is depicted at the bottom left and just in front of him two women are busy doing laundry using gold colored basins, while the seated woman is watching the gardener, and a man whose face is badly disfigured, is pouring some kind of drink from a hanging container into a cup.<sup>63</sup> Two female attendants stand beside each other on the bottom left, and appear to be in the middle of a conversation, while just above them

---

<sup>62</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamseh*, 142.

<sup>63</sup> Stchoukine, *la “Khamseh” de Nizami*, 76.

another two figures are also conversing; one is clutching the top of a blossoming tree branch. The figure sitting behind the pavilion gate is probably the guard. Other figures are depicted in the pavilion balcony and over the rooftop, where a woman and child are looking at something below from a small keel-shaped opening (fig. 135).

“Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” is the ninth and last illustrated folio of the *Haft Paykar*, and part of its thirteenth discourse (f. 196a, fig. 28). This illustration occupies the full space of the folio, and the white pavilion is positioned at the limit of the textbox, while the margin is filled with a golden background and tall trees and blossoms. In the lower part of the illustration, the artist has painted large-scale coral-like rocks and plants, and a fox that stands in its den on the external frame. Bahram Gur is depicted seated on a colorful rug against an orange cushion and holding a gold cup, while the princess squats in front of the prince, massaging his foot (fig. 144). Two female attendants, one dressed in red holding a dish, and the other in turquoise blue, are standing beside the door. The pavilion interior is decorated with a spiral fountain, which is a unique feature in this manuscript. There is a floral blue painting against a white wall and blue tiles cover the lower half of the walls. The pavilion entrance, a wooden bridge, a balcony and the dome are all depicted in the margins. A doorkeeper blocks the pavilion’s entrance by sitting in front of it, while another figure standing on the wooden bridge is holding a large lit torch, which indicates that this is a night scene.

In folio 157a of this section, a small diagonal textbox with two couplets of poetry has been added to the folio’s main textbox at the bottom left side; a feature that is uncharacteristic of this manuscript (fig. 22). The *Haft Paykar* ends with a fully inscribed folio with two plain L-shaped boxes that are framed only with a blue line and filled with

a plain gold color (fol. 206a). This section includes a number of plain headings that are filled only with plain colors and include no inscriptions.

The *Iskandarnama* (*The Book of Alexander*), the fifth and last book of this *Khamasa*, is inscribed between folios 207a and 316a. The *Iskandarnama* is the largest section of Nizami's *Khamasa*, which deals with the adventures of Alexander the Great, who is known as Iskandar in Persian literature.<sup>64</sup> In this book Nizami deals with three main phases of Iskandar's life; his period of conquest and kingship, his pursuit of wisdom and his call to Prophethood.<sup>65</sup> The first section of this book, the *Sharafnama*, opens with a text folio crowned by an illuminated heading, which incorporates a central cartouche where the book title, *Kitab Iskandarnama-yi Shaykh Nizami*, is inscribed, and not the title of the section (folio 207b) (fig. 29). The *Sharafnama* includes 20 discourses that are inscribed between folios 207a and 278a and has two illustrated folios.

"Iskandar and the dying Dara" is the first illustrated folio of the *Iskandarnama* and is found in its eighth discourse (f. 233a, fig. 30). The illustration depicts the murder of Dara, the ruler of Iran. In this scene, Iskandar is kneeling and Dara's head is on his lap, while the two murderers are captured.<sup>66</sup> The scene is set against the hillocks among the colors of orange, mauve, turquoise, gold and green, and has a framing rim of multicolored rocks.<sup>67</sup> The main scene is depicted within the space of the text box, except for the flag and the scenery at the left, where part of the rocky landscape extends beyond the frame almost in the same way as in the scene of Khusraw watching Shirin bathing (f. 38b).

---

<sup>64</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 149.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>67</sup> Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad," 58.

The illustration is filled with figures depicted in different positions, forming a circular composition through the arrangement of the figures around Iskandar and Dara. Beneath this circular arrangement, three figures are also seen sleeping, while at the top, the soldiers are depicted hiding behind a hillock and watching the main scene, while one figure places his hand in his mouth as a sign of astonishment. Amid the rocky landscape occupying the left margin, a figure wearing a Safavid red baton within his turban is depicted mounted on a black horse with his hand in his mouth and his head turned toward the main scene (fig. 149). This figure is the only one depicted with the Safavid white turban, while the rest of the figures are shown wearing the Safavid war helmet. Due to this illustration's style and the presence of the Safavid red baton in every piece of headgear shown, it seems clear that this illustration was done in the Safavid period.<sup>68</sup>

“Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait” is the second illustrated folio in the *Iskandarnama* and is in the twelfth discourse (f. 244a, fig. 31). The illustration occupies the entire folio's space while bound within a gold and blue frame, except where some trees extrude to the top margin, which is actually much larger here than the text box frame. Nushaba is portrayed wearing a dark-blue dress, a red cloak and gold crown and is seated on a richly ornamented throne, while Iskandar is disguised wearing a green garment and blue cloak, and the Safavid turban with the red baton and he crouches on the ground before the queen's throne.

A magnificent orange carpet separates the green hillock in the background and the green tiled courtyard in the foreground, while a canopy and screen placed over the queen's throne provide shade and protection from the sun, which is given a human face,

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

and shines in a golden sky (fig. 153).<sup>69</sup> In the background, the pinkish rocky hill makes a striking scene, and is filled with animals, human and demons' faces (fig. 154). This illustration is uncompleted, since some of its decorative details are missing, such as the pattern on the orange carpet on which Iskandar is sitting, and the hatch pattern of the courtyard's green flooring located at the far right of the illustration.

These unfinished details are not the only sign of incompleteness in this section, as there are also a number of plain headings with neither inscription nor color, while others are filled with a gold color and have no inscription, or are inscribed with gold-colored text but with no color or decoration in the background. The section ends with a rectangular textbox in folio 278a that occupies the space of two columns and a central triangular space filled with black inscriptions, while the sides are decorated with identical floral scroll over blue background illuminations.

Directly after the last folio of the *Sharafnama*, the second section of this book, the *Iqbalnama*, opens with a heading folio incorporating a central cartouche in which the book title "*Kitab Iqbalnama-yi Iskandari*" is inscribed (f. 278b, fig. 32). The *Iqbalnama*, inscribed between folios 278b and 316a, consists of seven discourses and includes only one illustrated folio, "Iskandar and the wise shepherd" (f. 285a, fig. 33), which is part of this book's first discourse. The story of Iskandar and the wise shepherd begins when a beautiful young girl in Iskandar's harem is ill with fever and no doctor is able to cure her. The hopeless Iskandar decided to go to the palace's roof, and there he spotted the old shepherd. Iskandar sent for the old man and asked him to recite a tale about hills and

---

<sup>69</sup> Stchoukine, *la "Khamseh" de Nizami*, 77.

plains to help him relax.<sup>70</sup> The old man, who knew of Iskandar's difficulties, adjusted his story to the needs of the king and Iskandar listened to him.<sup>71</sup>

“Iskandar and the wise shepherd” is illustrated within a rectangular golden frame, which looks as though it was pushed downward to the bottom edge of the folio leaving more space in the upper margin (fig. 33). Iskandar's palace is highly decorated from inside and outside and standing figures crowd the balcony and window, while the landscape is filled with colorful rocky hillocks of green and purple, tall trees with knotted trunks, green foliage and blossoming flowers. Iskandar is portrayed wearing the Safavid turban with the red baton, an orange garment and a blue cloak as he stands on the roof of the pavilion, looking down at the shepherd, with his sword-bearer standing beside him (fig. 155).<sup>72</sup> The shepherd is shown as a white-bearded figure, who is looking upward toward Iskandar and is accompanied by his sheep and goats, and a dog lying on the ground (fig. 156). The sick girl appears in the beautifully decorated chamber positioned in a lower storey of the palace on the left side and is attended by a physician and three female attendants, whose facial expressions and gestures show the signs of sorrow (fig. 157).

The technique used in this illustration shows a full use of color, seen in the colored hills and trees and in decorative details such as the tiles, grills and the blue and white chinoiserie wall-paintings in the girl's chamber, which make the viewer linger over them for a longer time.<sup>73</sup> This painting is the second in this *Khamse* to show signs of damage as does “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (fig. 27). Canby mentioned

---

<sup>70</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 177.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>72</sup> Stchoukine, *la "Khamseh" de Nizami*, 78.

<sup>73</sup> Çagman and Tanindi, *Topkapi*, no. 73, 113.

that this painting was originally made for the uncompleted *Shahnama* for Shah Isma‘il and was inserted into this *Khamsa*, but without giving any further explanation.<sup>74</sup> There is no evidence of such a possibility, however; especially with the resemblance in style and composition between this painting and others in this *Khamsa*, as we shall see later in the next chapter. The *Iqbalnama* ends with this *Khamsa*’s second colophon, which is inscribed in Arabic and illuminated with green and golden floral and vegetal scrolls on a blue and golden background (fol. 316a) (fig. 34), which reads;

" تم الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب علي يد العبد الضعيف المحتاج الي رحمه الله الغني عبد الرحيم اليعقوبي ستر الله  
عيوبه و غفر ذنوبه في خامس عشرين محرم الحرام سنه ست و ثمانين و ثمانمائه في دار السلطنة تبريز حماه الله  
عن الأوقات."

The text states the name of that the calligrapher, ‘Abd al-Rahim al-Ya‘qubi, completed the book in the “dar al-saltana,” of Tabriz, on 26 Muharram 886/27 March 1481. This *Khamsa* is the only manuscript produced in the second half of the fifteenth century which clearly indicates in its colophon Tabriz as a city of production of a manuscript.<sup>75</sup>

Dedications in illuminated medallions on the first page, colophons, inscriptions on the binding and stamped impressions on the page all yield information about the original and successive owners of a given work.<sup>76</sup> In this manuscript we can find information about its long history of exchanging hands in an added postscript, two seal stamps and inscriptions on the binding. This *Khamsa*’s postscript has been dated to the early sixteenth century, and includes an illuminated heading incorporating an empty central

---

<sup>74</sup> Canby, “Safavid Painting,” 73.

<sup>75</sup> Retting, *La production*, 149 & note 175.

<sup>76</sup> Tanindi. “Additions,” 149.

cartouche (ff. 316b–317b, figs. 35a-c).<sup>77</sup> This distinctive postscript was probably added to enhance the prestige of this manuscript when it was presented to Shah Isma‘il in the early sixteenth century by one of his high officials, Amir Najm al-Din Mas‘ud Zargar Rashti, whose name is inscribed on the outer back cover of the binding (fig. 1).<sup>78</sup>

It states that the Timurid prince Abu'l-Qasim Babur (r. 1447-1457) commissioned Ja‘far’s student Azhar to transcribe the text of this manuscript, but the manuscript was unfinished by the time of the prince’s death. A year later, the Qaraqoyunlu ruler Jahanshah sacked Herat; that was when the manuscript came into the possession of Jahanshah’s son Pir Budaq.<sup>79</sup> The manuscript later went to the Aq Quyunlu Sultan Khalil (r. 1478), who gave the calligrapher ‘Abd al-Rahim al-Khwarazmi the task of finishing the copying of the text of this manuscript and the two artists, Skaykhi and Darvish Muhammad, the task of adding illustrations.<sup>80</sup> After the death of Sultan Khalil, the manuscript passed to his brother Ya‘qub, who also died before finishing the manuscript, which finally passed to Shah Isma‘il (r. 1501-1524), under whose patronage the manuscript was almost completed.

Folio 316b contains ten lines of *nasta‘liq* inscriptions, each surrounded by a puffy cloud-band, while the background is painted in gold and decorated with flowers in blue, red and gold (fig. 35a). The beauty of this folio is both in the way the words are arranged in order to emphasize certain phrases, and in the poetic words chosen to document the complicated history of this manuscript that is described as “containing both written and

---

<sup>77</sup> Blair, *Calligraphy*, 285.

<sup>78</sup> Soucek, “Sultan Muhammad,” 58.

<sup>79</sup> Blair, *Calligraphy*, 283.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 283-284 and Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, 50.

visual puns.”<sup>81</sup> Those poetic words were used to refer to the author of this *Khamsa*, Nizami of Ganja, where he was described as “treasurer of the treasure of Ganja, scattered of treasures from the treasure-house of the *Khamsa* (*ganjvar-i ganj-i ganja wa ganigashan-i ganjina-yi khamsa*), that is, the sultan of poets, Nizami.”<sup>82</sup> Those charming words, which are located in the fourth line from the bottom, are inscribed in what are described as “the flowery titles” and even the poet’s actual name, at the end of the same line, is set off in its own cloud.<sup>83</sup> The long returning tail of the letter *ya*’ at the end of the word *Nizami* is described as “a pointer directing the reader’s eye to the main subject of the line, the author Nizami, sultan of poets.”<sup>84</sup>

This *Khamsa* is stamped with two different seals. The first is the seal of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1470-1520) and is found in the upper left side of folio 1b (fig. 36), while the second is an unclear Ottoman *tughra* and is found in the upper left margin of folio 4a (fig. 37). The presence of Sultan Selim’s seal indicate that this *Khamsa* was in his possession; it is likely that this *Khamsa* was among the treasury of Shah Isma‘il that was carried off to the Ottoman palace in Istanbul by Sultan Selim I after he captured Tabriz in 1514.<sup>85</sup>

The outer covers of this *Khamsa*’s binding are of black leather with brilliantly executed deep pressure-moulded panels containing a hunting scene with two male figures, wearing the Safavid turban with a red baton. They appear in a forest together with a dragon and lion in combat, a dragon and a phoenix, the bear holding the rock, and

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 285.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>85</sup> Tanindi, “Bookbinding,” 156.

two lions attacking another on the ground, similar to those shown in “Khusraw’s lion combat” scene (fig. 9), full various animals appear on both the front and back covers (fig. 1). On the flap is a ruler seated on a throne and holding a cup in his hand, with angels on either side holding bowls, and behind them two figures with birds in their hands. The border of both covers is formed of cartouches filled with various animals placed over floral scrolls. The stamped designs are gilded; and only the batons of the Safavid turbans are painted red, and the tree blossoms, blue. The mythical forest scene on the covers of the manuscript is created with a single mould in the form of a panel that resembles the Aq Quyunlu binding style.<sup>86</sup>

The cover on the spine has a pressure-molded Arabic inscription in the *nasta’liq* style over floral scrolls painted in blue. The inscription reads:

" برسم خزانة الامير الكبير الخبير النجم الاثير و الدرى المنير جعل الله مقامه محمودا و لازال السموات  
العلى نجم مسعودا."

By order of the Treasury of the great amir, the knowledgeable, the guiding star and luminous pearl. May God make his abode praiseworthy, and may he not cease to be a fortunate star (in) the highest heavens.<sup>87</sup>

This inscription states that the manuscript was made on the order of Amir Najm al-Din Mas‘ud Zargar Rashti, who is thought to be the patron of the Safavid additions to his manuscript (fig. 1).<sup>88</sup> Amir Najm al-Din Rashti, a goldsmith in the Rasht capital of western Gilan and one of Shah Isma‘il’s earliest and most fervent supporters, rose eventually to be his chief official or *vakil* and was an important link between the young

---

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>88</sup> Soucek, “Sultan Muhammad,” 70 & note 13 and Tanindi, “Additions,” 150.

ruler and the cultural and administrative traditions of Iran.<sup>89</sup> The decoration on the binding is attributed to Najm al-Din Rashti himself based on the masterful execution of the gilding, which indicates the hand of a skilled goldsmith.<sup>90</sup> His connection with this *Khamsa* led scholars to suggest that he had been in charge of Tabriz royal workshop and that manuscript patronage at the Safavid court in the early years was not solely the prerogative of the ruler.<sup>91</sup>

The doublures of the binding are of black leather with a protruding central medallion and corner pieces filled with filigree decoration of scrolls and half-palmettes. It is cut from black leather over a dark blue ground (fig. 2).<sup>92</sup> The sunken area of the panel is decorated with flat floral scrolls and a protruding cloud motif. The centers of the flowers are painted in blue and the rest of the area is gilded. The lining of the flap has a field with a design on three levels on a blue ground, the lower one including fine floral scrolls with white, red and yellow flowers. Over this is a black leather ornamental design of half-palmette scrolls cut from gilded leather, and on the top is a similar design in a larger scale and gilded. The designs on the doublure, and particularly on the flap lining are considered late-fifteenth century influences from Timurid artists from Herat.<sup>93</sup> The spine lining had three inscribed blue polylobed medallions. A few letters are missing, particularly in the first medallion. The central medallion here contains inscriptions reading, *Najm al-Din banda-yi dargah-i shahi* (Najm al-Din, servant at the gate of the

---

<sup>89</sup> Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad," 58 and Tanindi, "Additions," 150.

<sup>90</sup> Tanindi, "Additions," 150 and idem, "Bookbinding," 162.

<sup>91</sup> Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad," 58 and Tanindi, "Additions," 150.

<sup>92</sup> Tanindi, "Bookbinding," 162.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

Shah).<sup>94</sup> The third medallion contains inscriptions in praise of the poet Nizami. The titles inscribed both on the outer cover and its doublures are based on the Najm al-Din style, from which Tanindi concluded that this *Khamsa* was completed between 1505 and 1508 in Tabriz under the patronage of Najm al-Din, and that the binding was probably completed in 1508–1510, the year when Najm al-Din held the post of *Amir al-'Umara'*.<sup>95</sup>

We know from this manuscript's two colophons and postscript that Azhar and 'Abd al-Rahim b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khwarazmi were this *Khamsa*'s calligraphers, except for the postscript. 'Abd al-Rahim was probably born and trained in Shiraz, where his father, the famous calligrapher 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khwarazmi, worked. His exact date of birth of is unknown, but in the Topkapi albums there are numerous specimens by both him and his brother 'Abd al-Karim when they were around the age of eleven.<sup>96</sup> Both calligraphers are known for their association with the Aq Qyunlu dynasty especially under the patronage of Ya'qub Beg (r. 883-896/1478-1490).<sup>97</sup>

The way 'Abd al-Rahim signed his name in some of his work, especially in this manuscript, lead scholars to divide his career between Shiraz and Tabriz.<sup>98</sup> It was suggested that the calligrapher used the *nisba* "al-Sultani" when he was one of the principle calligraphers working for Sultan Khalil, while the *nisba* "al-Ya'qubi" was used when Ya'qub inherited his brother workshop and 'Abd al-Rahim started working under his patronage.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>96</sup> Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 66, Soucek, "'Abd-Al-Rahim Khvarazmi" and Retting, *La production*, 147.

<sup>97</sup> Soucek, "'Abd-Al-Rahim Khvarazmi" and Retting, *La production*, 147.

<sup>98</sup> Retting, *La production*, 147.

<sup>99</sup> Soucek, "'Abd-Al-Rahim Khvarazmi" and Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 60-61.

The lack of any solid evidence rather than the calligrapher's *nisba* makes it hard to know whether 'Abd al-Rahim was working in Khalil's workshop in Shiraz during his period as the Aq Quyunlu governor there and later followed sultan Khalil to Tabriz when he inherited the throne or he was already in Tabriz on the death of Uzun Hasan and remained head of the princely workshop during sultan Khalil reign.<sup>100</sup> Although 'Abd al-Rahim is not documented as having produced any other manuscripts for Ya'qub rather than this *Khamsa*, there are however, numerous calligraphic specimens in the Topkapi albums signed by him using the *nisba* "al-Ya'qubi."<sup>101</sup> 'Abd al-Rahim's association with Ya'qub has been documented by Qadi Ahmad, Dust Muhammad and Sam Mirza.<sup>102</sup> Qadi Ahmad mentioned that "Maulana" 'Abd al-Rahim was known as *anisi* (companion) since he was Ya'qub's companion and admirer (*musahib-va 'ashiq*), which made him adopt later *Anisi* as his pen name.<sup>103</sup>

'Abd al-Rahim used the *nisba* "al-Rustami" in signing later manuscripts, which demonstrates that he later worked for the last significant Aq Quyunlu ruler, Sultan Rustam. His last known manuscript is a collection of his own poetry, the *Divan* of Anisi, dated 899/1493-4 and dedicated to a certain Amir Muhammad b. al-Dastur al-A'zam al-Amir Fazlallah.<sup>104</sup> The sixteenth century added postscript has been inscribed in *nasta'liq* styles similar to that of 'Abd al-Rahim, which made some scholars attribute it to 'Abd al-Rahim's brother 'Abd al-Karim.<sup>105</sup> 'Abd al-Karim was a well-known *nasta'liq*

---

<sup>100</sup> Retting, *La production*, 150.

<sup>101</sup> Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 66.

<sup>102</sup> Soucek, "'Abd-Al-Rahim Khvarazmi" and Retting, *La production*, 151.

<sup>103</sup> Qadi Ahmad, *Calligraphers*, 100 and Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 61.

<sup>104</sup> Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 66.

<sup>105</sup> Retting, *La production*, 150.

calligrapher under the nickname *Padshah*<sup>106</sup> and it is known that he wrote in the same manner as his brother to a point that it was impossible to distinguish between their writings. Malik Daylami claims that ‘Abd al-Rahim taught his brother ‘Abd al-Karim and that may explain the great similarity in their styles.<sup>107</sup> He died much later than ‘Abd al-Rahim.<sup>108</sup>

According to this *Khamsa*’s postscript (ff. 316b-317b) and a document preserved in the Ya‘qub Beg album, the so-called Fatih album (TKS, H. 2153), both Skaykhi and Darvish Muhammad, known as the leading artists of Ya‘qub Beg’s atelier, were assigned to add illustrations to this *Khamsa* and later when the manuscript passed to Shah Isma‘il, some illustrations were added at the Safavid atelier in Tabriz.<sup>109</sup> It has been suggested that under the Safavids another two or three painters were assigned to add or complete this *Khamsa* illustrations.<sup>110</sup> It has also been suggested that Sultan Muhammad, a famous Safavid painter who lived in Tabriz during the early sixteenth century, was one of the painters that worked on this manuscript.<sup>111</sup>

Some scholars have claimed that most of the illustrations in the *Haft Paykar* were Skaykhi’s work, especially “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” scene (f. 177b, fig. 23) and “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” (f. 180b, fig. 24).<sup>112</sup> On the other hand, most of Darvish Muhammad’s paintings are considered unfinished, and were completed under the

---

<sup>106</sup> Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, 141.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>108</sup> Qadi Ahmad, *Calligraphers*, 101.

<sup>109</sup> Robinson, “The Turkman School,” 242 and Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, 50.

<sup>110</sup> Soucek, “Sultan Muhammad,” 58.

<sup>111</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube, *Peerless Images*, 57, Canby, “Safavid painting,” 74 and Qadi Ahmad, *Calligraphers*, 181.

<sup>112</sup> Çagman and Tanindi, *Topkapi*, no. 72, 113; Blair and Bloom, *Islam*, 68 and Robinson, “The Turkman School” 242.

Safavid in the Turkman style.<sup>113</sup> “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” has been attributed to Darvish Muhammad (f. 51b, fig. 10).<sup>114</sup> On the other hand, It is thought that “The Suicide of Shirin” (fig. 15) was done by the same painter who did “The *mi‘raj*” (fig. 5), while Sims attributed “The *mi‘raj*” to Sultan Muhammad.<sup>115</sup> Soucek, on the other hand, attributes both “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (f. 12a, fig. 6) and “Khusraw’s lion combat” (f. 46a, fig. 9) to Sultan Muhammad as well.<sup>116</sup>

Stchoukine makes a different interesting categorization depending on, first the style of the illustration, and second the idea that both Skaykhi and Darvish Muhammad continued working on this manuscript under the Safavids. He divided the illustrations into two groups: those done under the Aq Quyunlu and those done under the Safavids. Three of those categorized as Aq Quyunlu productions were considered to be of a low standard with an awkward design and a less harmonious color palette, which are “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion” (f. 171b, fig. 22), “Bahram Gur at the red pavilion” (f. 183b, fig. 25) and “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion” (f. 187a, fig. 26).<sup>117</sup> The first group of Safavid paintings includes folios “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (f. 12a, fig. 6), “Khusraw watches Shirin bathing” (f. 38b, fig. 8), “Khusrawa’s lion combat” (f. 46a, fig. 9), “Khusraw and Shirin united” (f. 89b, fig. 14) and “Iskandar and the dying Dara” (f. 233a, fig. 30), while the second group includes “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (f. 192a, fig. 27), “Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” (f.196a, fig. 28), “Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait” (f. 244a) and “Iskandar and the wise shepherd” (f. 285a, fig.

---

<sup>113</sup> Çagman, *Miniature Painting*, 29-30.

<sup>114</sup> Çagman and Tanindi, *Topkapi*, no. 71, 113.

<sup>115</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube, *Peerless Images*, 151 and Robinson, “Persian and Pre-Mughal,” 178.

<sup>116</sup> Soucek, “Sultan Muhammad,” 56 and 58.

<sup>117</sup> Stchoukine, *la “Khamseh” de Nizami*, 80.

33). The essential feature that characterizes each group lies in the different structure of the composition.<sup>118</sup> In the first group, the composition develops according to the columns of the text, which play an essential role in its development, and according to which, the illustration is painted in the limits of the frame and then spread in the most irregular way into the margin.<sup>119</sup> The second group is strictly limited to the space inside the frame and do not extrude into the margin.<sup>120</sup>

According to those divisions, Stchoukine suggests that four artists worked on this Khamsa.<sup>121</sup> Since only the names of Shaykhi and Darvish Muhammad were mentioned, there was the possibility that those two artists had apprentices who did some of those illustrations in a different style.<sup>122</sup> Stchoukine attributes seven paintings of the first group to Shaykhi, folios “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” (f. 51b, fig. 10), “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” (f. 69a, fig. 11), “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (f. 82b, fig. 13), “The enthronement of Bahram Gur” (f. 163b, fig. 20), “Fitna’s feat of strength” (f.167a, fig. 21), “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” (f. 177b, fig. 23) and “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” (f. 180b, fig. 24); while the other three, folios “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion” (f.171b), “Bahram Gur at the red pavilion” (f. 183b) and “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion” (f. 187a) were attributed to his students.<sup>123</sup>

Stchoukine attributed the five paintings of the second group to Darvish Muhammad, “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (f. 12a, fig. 6), “Khusraw watches Shirin bathing” (f. 38b, fig. 8), “Khusraw’s lion combat” (f. 46a, fig. 9), “Khusraw and Shirin

---

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 80-81.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. 81.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

united” (f. 89b, fig. 14) and “Iskandar and the dying Dara” (f. 233a, fig. 14), while his students would be responsible for the remaining illustrations.<sup>124</sup> Stchoukine concludes that Shaykhi, the elder of the two masters, was the painter of an “older” style, while those of a “newer” style would go to the younger artist, Darvish Muhammad.<sup>125</sup> In order to either support or argue against any of those interpretations made regarding either the date or the identity of the artists, we must first look at the composition and style of the paintings; both the architectural and the decorative features alongside the landscape settings, the shape of the figures and the color palette. Those features changed from one school to another and the composition and style of a painting generally reflect a certain style or a particular artist.

---

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

## Chapter Three

### Stylistic Analysis of this *Khamsa's* Illustrations

#### 3.1 Composition

“The *mi'raj*” illustration takes up the entire space of the folio, leaving only a very narrow margin on the right side. The main scene is shown within a rectangular box placed in the middle of the folio with a frame surrounding its three sides. The frame is decorated with golden floral scrolls with red flowers on a blue background; a decoration that also appears in other paintings in this *Khamsa*, such as “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (f. 12a, fig. 6), “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” (fig. 12), “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (f. 82b, fig. 13), and “The suicide of Shirin” (fig. 15). This rectangular box is wider and shorter than the textbox, which is marked by two small textboxes at the top right and the lower left, where the texts are surrounded by clouds, separating them from the floral scrolls and golden background.

The framed scene is a wildly undulating cloud composition; flaming and golden, and populated by numerous angels, with a deep-blue background represents the night sky. The large-scale figures of the prophet and Buraq form the main focal point within the cloud arrangement. Angels amid flaming clouds encircling the inside of an opening at the upper left of the composition appear to look down at the scene below (fig. 41). The prophet is depicted wearing a green garment and white turban and barefoot and a flaming halo around his head. It is not very clear if the face of the prophet was originally covered with a white veil or it was added later and his face features were removed, since marked of his eyebrows are noticed.

The huge architectural enclosure shown in the foreground, featuring a number of highly decorated doors and minarets, surrounds the Ka‘ba, and a small domed structure and wooden minbar stand beside it. The enclosure is considered a contemporary depiction of the Great Mosque in Mecca, while the small domed structure beside the Ka‘ba is the Prophet’s mausoleum.<sup>126</sup> The buildings are filled with decorations of different patterns and colors.

Hillocks with rocky edges fill the space in front and behind the architectural setting. The rocky hillocks at the background are filled with domed buildings of different scale from those shown in the frontal setting. An undulating, desert landscape extrudes into the illustration’s left and the upper margins, forming a background to the whole *mi‘raj* scene. The arrangements and colors of the hilly landscape with its tall palm trees and tamarisks is similar to that depicted behind the architectural setting. The hillocks with the colored rocky edges in the right and the upper margin are also filled with domed buildings similar to those shown in the rocky landscape behind the architectural setting at the bottom of the scene.

Among the early *mi‘raj* paintings that show the prophet flying over Mecca, accompanied by a host of angels pouring golden flames on him is “The *mi‘raj*” in the Iskandar Sultan *Anthology* that dates from 813-14/1410-11 (BL, Add. 27261) (f. 6a, fig. 173). The same arrangement is used in another copy of Nizami *Khamisa* that was begun under Pir Budaq, probably in Baghdad, and completed in the reign of Uzun Hasan under the patronage of his son Sultan Khalil in Shiraz (TKS, H. 761, f. 4b).<sup>127</sup> Another painting

---

<sup>126</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube. *Peerless Images*, 151.

<sup>127</sup> “The *mi‘raj*” in H. 761 is dated based on its style to Shiraz royal production under Sultan Khalil. For a reproduction of the illustration, see Gruber, *Muhammad’s Ascension*, 460.

contemporary to this *Khamsa* painting is found in another copy of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, completed for Mirza ‘Ali Farsi Barlas in 900/1495-1505 (BL Or. 6810) (f. 5b, fig. 209).

In her study on the *mi‘raj* painting in this *Khamsa*, Gruber states that one of the new features that appeared over the course of the sixteenth century is the white veil over the prophet’s face.<sup>128</sup> She mentions that this feature appears in paintings from the pre-Safavid period, and the main difference from the Safavids is the visibility of the Prophet’s facial features behind the veil.<sup>129</sup> It was not until the reign of Shah Isma‘il and Shah Tahmasp that “the Prophetic veil” crystalized as an iconographic motif for representing the Prophet.<sup>130</sup> According to Gruber, this Safavid tradition continued to the early nineteenth century, when the prophet was represented either by a flaming bundle or was entirely absent from the *mi‘raj* paintings.<sup>131</sup> Gruber attributes the composition of “The *mi‘raj*” in this *Khamsa* to the production of Timurid Herat and the court of Ya‘qub beg at Tabriz, although she does not give any examples from Tabriz atelier under Ya‘qub.<sup>132</sup>

“Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” is illustrated within an incomplete rectangular box, except for the upper section, which occupies the full space of the folio, and has an outer frame similar to that surrounding the textbox (f. 12a, fig. 6). The area of the textbox is divided horizontally into two sections; the upper section, which contains four text columns and the lower section, where the main scene is illustrated. A multi-storey

---

<sup>128</sup> Gruber, *Muhammad’s Ascension*, 267.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

pavilion is shown in the left margin with the main entrance at the bottom and the upper balconies and domed roof occupying the upper margin, just above the four text columns.

This arrangement encompasses the text columns on three sides and shows them as part of the building, and thereby contributing to the solidity of the architectural setting.<sup>133</sup> It is also seen in earlier manuscripts dating from the fourteenth century, as in “The thief is beaten in the bedroom” (f. 24a, fig. 165), which was originally taken along with other illustrations from a copy of *Kalila and Dimna* manuscript. These illustrations were produced in the Jalayirid period sometime between 1357 and 1385 in Tabriz, and were pasted into a newly written text of the *Kalila and Dimna* for the Timurid prince Baysunghur, the grandson of Timur (TKS, H. 362).<sup>134</sup> The same arrangement is seen in other illustrations from manuscripts contemporary with this *Khamsa* such as “Dindar gives advice” scene in Muhammad Asafi’s *Jalal and Jamal* (UUL, O Nova 2) (f. 5a, fig. 211). A further example is the scene of Tahmina coming to Rustam’s chamber in the unfinished Firdawsi *Shahnama* of 1515-22 (fig. 224).

In most of this scene’s different versions, the two protagonists, Sultan Sanjar and the old woman, are more or less arranged as in this *Khamsa*’s painting, differing only in the arrangement of the surrounding setting and the male attendants around the Sultan. One depiction, for example, associated with copies of the *Khamsa* dating from late fifteenth century Herat, shows a male attendant holding a mace in front of Sultan Sanjar, and looking at the old woman (fig. 208). Another from Shiraz or Baghdad showing an affinity with the Herat style include the Diez A. Fol. 7 *Khamsa*, which dates from the

---

<sup>133</sup> O’Kane, *Kalila and Dimna*, 57.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

early 1460s (f. 19a, fig. 193).<sup>135</sup> Although none of the extant copies of the *Khamsa* from Herat in the first half of the fifteenth century include “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman,” Soucek saw a close resemblance between the composition of this scene in manuscripts either done in Herat and the scene in Khwaju Kirmani’s *Masnavis*, which was produced in Baghdad under the Jalayirids (BL, Add. 18113) (f. 85a, fig. 169). This scene, when compared with others produced in the Herat manuscripts of the late fifteenth century (fig. 208), strongly suggests that this composition was part of the Herat repertoire.<sup>136</sup>

In other fifteenth century copies of Nizami *Khamsa* that illustrate the scene of “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman,” either from Shiraz or Baghdad, or show an affinity with their styles, the male attendant with the mace is omitted. Examples include a *Khamsa* produced in Shiraz between 844-6/1440-43 (TKS, Revan 862) (f. 21b, fig. 183) and another produced under the patronage of Pir Budaq from the early 1460s (RAS, M. 246) (f. 16b).<sup>137</sup> In most of the versions of this scene produced in any style during the fifteenth century, Sultan Sanjar appears on horseback with at least one male attendant standing behind him and holding an umbrella over the Sultan’s head. In some cases, when the artist had enough surrounding space, a number of attendants would be depicted watching the main scene, forming a diagonal composition with the two protagonists. In most versions, the background shows rocky hills with trees and tufts of grass depicted in a manner similar to the area where Sultan Sanjar and the old woman are shown in this *Khamsa*’s illustration.

---

<sup>135</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamsah*, 450 and 466; and Robinson, “The Turkman School,” 221. Scholars disagree on whether it was produced in Baghdad or Shiraz.

<sup>136</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamsah*, 391 and 466.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 317 and 467.

The unusual feature in this scene is the addition of a multi-storey pavilion occupying the left side of the illustration. The same arrangement is present in the same scene in H. 761 (f. 13b). In both *Khamsas*, a pavilion with an entrance is shown on the left side with a male figure at the pavilion's entrance in H. 761, while four male figures crowd the pavilion's entrance in this *Khamsa* (fig. 44). The artist of this illustration had more longitudinal space to depict a higher pavilion than the one in H. 761, from which a number of figures are shown watching the main scene, resulting in several diagonal compositions between those figures and the scene's two protagonists.

The second illustrated folio in this *Khamsa* portrays "Khusraw watches Shirin bathing", which is illustrated in an irregular space at the center of the textbox and extruding into the right margin (fig. 8). This scene is depicted in the traditional diagonal arrangement in which Shirin is seen sitting in a pool at the lower left surrounded by rocks, and wearing only blue *shalvar* (full-length pants), while the mounted prince observes her from the top of the scene's top right. Shabdiz, Shirin's horse, stands to the left of the pool, while her bow and arrows are hung over a tree behind her and her clothes are arranged in a circular pile with the crown on top on a rock to Shirin's left (fig. 46). Shirin is placed at the intersection of two diagonal lines; one formed by the direction of Khusraw's glance, and the other by the head of Shabdiz. Through the two diagonal arrangements, the circular form of the pool where Shirin sits, and against the silver-colored water of the stream, the artist has made Shirin's figure the focal point in the middle of the dense rocky landscape. The densely detailed landscape, in addition, matches the wild green area described in the text.

Soucek mentions that “Khusraw watches Shirin bathing” in the various copies of the *Khamasa* from Shiraz and Tabriz that date to the second half of the fifteenth century, as in an 886/1481 copy of Nizami *Khamasa* (CBL, Per. 162) (f. 50b) show connections with those in the Freer Nizami (fig. 164) and the 834/1431 *Khamasa* (HM, 23001) (f. 61a, fig. 177).<sup>138</sup> Although some differences can be noted between the different illustrations of this scene in the position of Shabdiz in the three copies of the *Khamasa*, Soucek suggests that the scene in the Shah Rukh *Khamasa* developed from the Freer Nizami copy, and accordingly, a link can be seen with this same scene in other copies of the *Khamasa* from Shiraz or Tabriz that date from the late fifteenth century and the Freer Nizami through a Herat composition that differs in this detail of Shabdiz from the one in the Shah Rukh *Khamasa*.<sup>139</sup> Soucek did not provide any example of such a scene that is either from Herat or follows the Herat style and is similar to those in the Freer Nizami or CBL Per. 162. Similar compositions can also be noticed in other copies of the *Khamasa* from Shiraz that predate the Shah Rukh *Khamasa*. In a copy of Nizami *Khamasa*, probably produced in Yazd (Fig. 175) around 1420, “Khusraw watching Shirin bathing” has the same composition as those in this *Khamasa* and in CBL Per. 162.<sup>140</sup> Another similar composition of “Khusraw watching Shirin bathing” is found in other fifteenth century manuscripts, including those within an 850/1446–1447 Nizami *Khamasa* (TKS, H. 786) (f. 41b, fig. 188), probably produced in Yazd, and Diez A. fol. 7 (f. 53a, fig. 194), probably a Baghdad production. According to the previous examples, we can conclude that the

---

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 519; and Robinson, *Bodleian Library*, 12-13 and 80. CBL Per. 162 *Khamasa* was probably produced in either Tabriz or Shiraz.

<sup>139</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 520.

<sup>140</sup> Stchoukine, “Yazd entre 1142 et 1444,” 9-10.

composition in this *Khamisa*'s scene developed from the long tradition in Shiraz or Baghdad, which show direct connections with the same scene in the Freer *Khamisa*.

The third *Khamisa* illustration, "Khusraw's lion combat," occupies the full folio space with no surrounding outline or frame, as in "Sultan Sanjar and the old woman" (f. 12a); although parts of the textbox frame are shown above the painting (f. 46a, fig. 9). The decorated upper and lower text columns form an irregular space with the main scene shown in the center between them. This arrangement is similar to that in "Khusraw watches Shirin bathing" (f. 38b), except for the decoration of the text columns. The hilly background extrudes into the margins on every side with the edges of the rocky hills forming a colorful and irregular outer frame.

The composition of "Khusraw's lion combat" illustration is one of the *Khamisa*'s scenes that changed little since its first appearance in the Mahboubian *Khamisa*, and was evidently a favorite of Shiraz painters.<sup>141</sup> Khusraw is always shown as in this *Khamisa* poised to strike the attacking lion with one leg in front of the other and his right fist in the air, while twisting the lion's ear with his left hand (fig. 50). In the various versions of this scene, Shirin is either shown sitting or standing in front of a tent with her hand near her face, as in this *Khamisa*, or with her finger in her mouth as a sign of astonishment. The female attendants beside Shirin (fig. 52) and the male onlookers who are integrated into the landscape in the upper right side of the scene appear to be observing the main scene from the outer edge of the garden (fig. 51), similar to illustrations of this scene in other copies of *Khamisa* from Herat, as in the Shah Rukh *Khamisa* (f. 72b, fig. 178) and

---

<sup>141</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 225.

from Shiraz, as in H. 761(f. 46a, fig. 200).<sup>142</sup> Soucek states that the composition of “Khusraw’s lion combat” in H. 761 suggest a Herat origin, since the arrangement of the figures is similar to that in the Shah Rukh *Khamsa*.<sup>143</sup> The arrangement of the main figures in front of the tent in H. 761 is almost identical to this *Khamsa* scene; where Khusraw is striking the lion and where Shirin is accompanied by three female attendants on her right; one opening the tent for her and the other two looking at each other with signs of astonishment. Another similarity may be seen in the arrangement of the male spectators in the background. This may indicate the indirect influence of the Herat style on this *Khamsa*’s “Khusraw’s lion combat” through earlier productions in Shiraz.

Away from the main scene and its spectators, the surroundings are filled with a number of interesting genre scenes, such as the one of the servants preparing food, shown in very small scale, at the bottom of the illustration (fig. 49). At the upper margin a leopard is attacking a bear, while another bear stands on a rocky outcrop, preparing to throw a rock at the leopard to save its companion (fig. 53). Although the text does not mention any children in this scene and had never portrayed any in earlier versions of this scene, the artist has depicted a female attendant holding an infant inside the small white tent that is decorated with blue polylobed medallions. Another child stands beside her, while a third is seen beside the opening of the tent watching the action taking place outside (fig. 52). A further female attendant is seen outside the tent, holding the hand of a child with a golden crown, while pointing at him with her other hand.

All the figures of this arrangement are depicted looking at the three servants grilling a chicken at the lower edge of the scene. The artist’s illogical spatial arrangement

---

<sup>142</sup> “Khusraw’s lion combat” in H. 761 is dated to the second phase of additions made by Sultan Khalil in Shiraz based on its style.

<sup>143</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamsah*, 521.

is seen in the female attendant sitting behind the blue and white tent with her right hand placed on the tent (fig. 52). She appears in the scale of the companions of Shirin, while the figures in the tent and the servants at the bottom edge of the painting are miniaturised. The scale of the figures is used to emphasize the main characters of the scene and to distinguish them from the surrounding figures filling the space, which has resulted in the illogical representation of perspective. Most of the figures are shown looking either at each other or at Khusraw and the lion, which resulted in a number of diagonal compositions between the figures.

The fourth illustrated folio in this *Khamsa* is of “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle.” This dynamic scene is filled with unique and interesting details (f. 51b, fig. 10). The illustration is mostly contained within a rectangular box with a thick frame formed of two thick gold and blue parallel lines as well as finer lines, and decorated with golden dots and crosses (fig. 60). The illustration occupies the folio’s full space leaving two narrow margins at both sides of the rectangle; a few flags waving in the breeze reach over into the margin in the upper section of the scene and hills with colorful rocky edges extrude into the margin in the lower part. The space within the textbox is arranged as in the two previous paintings, “Khusraw watches Shirin bathing” (f. 38b) and “Khusraw’s lion combat” (f. 46a), with illuminated text columns at the top and the bottom of the textbox, and an irregular space between them.

The artist of this scene combined the illustration in the text box beautifully with the columns of text into the space of the rectangular box (fig. 58). The blue sky is shown below the four upper text columns, which gives the impression that the text columns are part of the blue sky rather than something interrupting the scene as in “Khusraw’s lion

combat.” The tradition of coloring the sky exclusively within the original limits of the text box was not followed in this scene, which also has a small section of blue sky filling the background at the bottom right of the scene (fig. 66).

The two armies, with figures mounted and others on foot behind the rocky hillocks; advance on each other from the opposite corners of the illustration. The figures are arranged in such a way as to show them as masses of armed men. The largest two groups of mounted figures are positioned with the two main figures, Khusraw and Bahram Chubin. Khusraw’s army occupies the left side (fig. 56), while Bahram Chubin’s is amassed on the right (fig. 57). Some of the mounted figures are shown in a dynamic diagonal movement (fig. 63), while other mounted figures are seen fighting man to man (fig. 64). All the figures on foot are shown standing behind rocky hillocks as a thick line of heads framing the rim of the rocky hills (fig. 65). Just below the upper text columns, a number of figures on horses and camels are playing drums and trumpets to spur on the soldiers, probably a *tablakhana* (figs. 58, 59). Prince Khusraw’s royal figure is emphasized by the golden throne mounted on the elephant on which he sits, with a small size male servant standing on the throne behind him holding a golden ewer (fig. 56). On the opposite side, Bahram Chubin’s figure is distinguished only by the presence of his advisor in a green garment standing behind him and an umbrella over his head (fig. 57).

A sense of rhythm is formed by the diagonal arrangement of the exceptionally long trumpets distributed all over the illustration, in addition to the flags, spears, swords, shields raised up by the figures and the large tassel hung under the horse’s chin (fig. 67), filling empty spaces between the groups of the soldiers. This arrangement appears in

Shiraz in the early fifteenth century;<sup>144</sup> in Herat manuscripts, very similar battle scenes appear, but on a grander scale, such as “The hosts of Iran and Turan in battle” in the 1430 *Shahnama* done for Baysunghur in Herat (GPL, MS 61) (fig. 176).

The following three illustrated folios show consecutive events in *Khusraw and Shirin*. These are “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” (f. 69a, fig. 11), “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” (fig. 12), which is today in the Keir collection, and “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (f. 82b, fig. 13). The composition in the three paintings share the domination of the architectural setting and display the same intensity of detail. “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” is the first of the two unfinished illustrations in this *Khamasa*. It is not clear whether the artist had intended to surround the illustration with a frame or not but it is clear that the picture occupies the full space of the folio. The original space of the textbox is identifiable by three small text boxes in its space are only four female attendants and a child, arranged in a diagonal line, watching Farhad carrying Shirin on her horse in astonishment (fig. 70). The two main protagonists are shown in the left margin; an arrangement usually used to show a figure either leaving or entering a scene (fig. 69). A small part of the rocky landscape extends beneath Farhad’s feet to show him standing on the ground rather than suspended in the margin.

It is unusual to see any buildings in this scene, which, according to the text, takes place on a mountain where Farhad is carving out a passage for Khusraw in exchange for Shirin.<sup>145</sup> In this scene we see the elevations of two consecutive pavilions with the three panels usually represent Farhad carvings in this scene decorating the sides and the upper section of the front pavilion (fig. 74). Another unusual feature in this scene is the external

---

<sup>144</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube, *Peerless Images*, 96-97.

<sup>145</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamseh*, 69-70.

walls of the enclosure occupying the bottom section with small-scale figures standing behind it, and with an arched gateway shown in the right margin, which is crowded with figures that are so small-scale as to be almost invisible (fig. 71). The presence of this enclosure with its side entrance, and with the pavilions in the background, gives the sense that the rocky landscape with trees and a lake look like a pavilion's garden rather than a mountain, giving the impression that the artist was depicting a different scene rather than Farhad carrying Shirin on his horse. Despite this, we can still compare the way the two protagonists are shown and the female attendants watch them. The arrangement of this main group of figures is similar to that in the same scene in H. 761 (f. 63b, fig. 201), in which the two protagonists are shown heading to the left margin, while two female attendants watch them from behind, forming a diagonal arrangement between the two protagonists and the female attendants similar to this *Khamsa*.

“Khusraw visiting Shirin's palace” is a favorite among Persian painters since it enabled them to combine architecture with landscape and include a variety of figures.<sup>146</sup> The painting is divided into two zones; the pavilion enclosure, which occupies the space of the textbox, and the external rocky hillocks on the outside that mainly occupy the space in the left margin (fig. 12). Shirin's pavilion is shown as a polygonal, three-storey pavilion with a garden surrounded by an enclosure, which extrudes into the margin. The pavilion and its surroundings are represented with accurate proportions, except in the artist's depiction of Khusraw's figure that is in a larger scale than the other figures. This difference in scale is used to emphasize Khusraw's importance. Shirin looks down at him from an upper window in the pavilion, thereby highlighting the conversation between the

---

<sup>146</sup> Canby, *Persian Painting*, 73.

two lovers.<sup>147</sup> Male and female attendants watch Khusraw from the pavilion windows (fig. 76), and a guard stands at the pavilion gate (fig. 78). Two gardeners are working at the bottom of the pavilion, while three musicians figures are seen outside the pavilion enclosure at the bottom left, one playing a harp, and another holding a vessel of wine. The presence of angels, together with the harpist and gardeners are considered novel additions to a scene whose antecedents go back to Jalayirid paintings.<sup>148</sup>

The blue sky is shown within the limits of the original text frame, and features Chinese-style clouds, trees and birds, while the plain color of the folio represents the sky of the areas depicted in the left margin. Although it is traditional to color only the sky within the limits of the text box, Canby saw it as an odd arrangement in which Khusraw seems to be in a different time zone to Shirin.<sup>149</sup> This distinction between the horizons of the two zones show the frame of the text box as a screen set behind the polygonal pavilion. The angels hiding behind the text box on the upper left emphasize this effect.

The earliest illustrations showing this composition is “Humay in front of Humayun’s palace” in Khwaju Kirmani’s *Masnavis* (BL, Add. 18113) (f. 18a, fig. 167).<sup>150</sup> A similar composition is used to show “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” in TKS H. 781(f. 73b, fig. 184),<sup>151</sup> and in Amir Khusraw’s *Khamisa* (CBL, Per. 137) (f. 66a, fig. 196).<sup>152</sup> A similarity can be seen between these three paintings and this *Khamisa*’s “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace,” while the painting in CBL Per. 137 shows Shirin’s

---

<sup>147</sup> Gharipour, *Persian Gardens*, 63.

<sup>148</sup> Canby, *Persian Painting*, 71.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>150</sup> Titley, “Persian Miniature,” 471.

<sup>151</sup> A copy of Nizami’s *Khamisa* done for ‘Ismat al-Dunya, which was produced in Herat in 849/1445-6.

<sup>152</sup> Titley, “Persian Miniature,” 471 and Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamseh*, 397. It dates from 1462, and was probably produced in Baghdad for Pir Budaq.

pavilion as a polygonal, multi-storey structure similar to the one in this *Khamsa*'s painting. The composition of the scene in CBL Per. 137 is considered derived from the same scene in H. 781, and this in turn is seen as the prototype for the same scene as it is depicted in the Turkman manuscripts that date to the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>153</sup>

The final scene in this group, "Khusraw leaving Shirin's palace," shows some similarities with the previous scene, especially in the arrangement of the main figures and in the architectural setting (f. 82b, fig. 13). Although the illustration is unfinished, we can see that it occupies the full folio space, leaving only two narrow margins on the sides, similar to the scene of "Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle." A multi-storey polygonal pavilion, similar to the one in the previous scene, occupies most of the textbox space, while some kind of arch or gateway is shown in the textbox space on the right. A second polygonal structure is delineated in a relatively smaller scale, in an attempt to show it as a structure standing behind the first pavilion, with what looks like a bridge built on arches connecting the two pavilions, with two figures crossing the bridge and a peacock perched on it (fig. 83).

Shirin, seen at the upper window of the pavilion in the textbox space, is looking down at Khusraw as he leaves the castle on horseback; his courtiers and two male attendants riding behind, and with one of them holding an umbrella over him (figs. 79, 80). This arrangement results in the formation of a diagonal composition between the two protagonists, also similar to that in the previous scene. A number of figures are seen at the main entrance of the pavilion (fig. 82), while another group of figures is shown

---

<sup>153</sup> Titley, "Persian Miniature," 474; and Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 397.

standing on an upper balcony (fig. 80); both groups watching Khusraw leaving. A gardener and two small scale figures can be seen, partially hidden behind a tree, in front of the pavilion. Chinese clouds and angels fill the upper margin (fig. 81).

Through the architectural setting, the painter of this scene shows depth, and gives a sense of logical perspective in this spatial arrangement. There are not many comparable examples of this arrangement from the fifteenth century, but similar arrangements are shown in early sixteenth century Safavid manuscripts in Tabriz. These include the “Allegory of drunkenness” from Hafiz’s *Divan*, dating from around 1525 and signed by Sultan Muhammad (f. 135a, fig. 228), and “The nightmare of Zahhak” from the *Shahnama* of Shah Tahmasp from around 1525-35, attributed to Mir Musavvir (f. 28b, fig. 232).

“Khusraw and Shirin united” occupies the folio’s full space leaving only a margin at the left side, in which part of a tent and its guy lines at the top left extrude into the margin, the larger part of which is delineated with simple thin blue double lines (f. 89b, fig. 14). The scene is divided into two main spaces; the inner space of the pavilion, where the two protagonists are shown, and the area outside the pavilion. The textboxes are seamlessly incorporated into the scene with great ingenuity to become an intrinsic part of it so that even the columns of text seem to blend in perfectly. The pavilion is shown in the same arrangement as that in “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion.” Accordingly, the pavilion space is divided into the inner chamber, which occupies a wide vertical section on the left side, and the entrance to the pavilion occupies a narrow section on the right side. The pavilion entrance is peopled with a number of female attendants

carrying bowls and ewers, while a larger group of female attendants stand beside the entrance holding candles, lit torches and tambourines (fig. 88).

The inner chamber is simply decorated with blue dado and an upper white space pierced by stucco windows and decorated with blue drawings of flowers, plants and Chinese clouds. The back space of the chamber contains Khusraw's sword, crown and two tall candles on each side (fig. 87), as in "The suicide of Shirin" scene. The figures of Khusraw and Shirin are making love in the front of the chamber, and Shirin is holding a napkin with a red spot on it as an indication of her virginity. A number of ewers and incense burners are also seen in the chamber. The arrangement of the main scene is similar to the Shah Rukh *Khamsa* (f. 135a, fig. 179), where the pavilion and the two main figures resemble those in this scene.

The space outside the pavilion is divided horizontally into three further spaces, where the widest space in the middle represents the private garden of the pavilion enclosed with a red fence. The upper and lower spaces appear to be outside the grounds of the pavilion. The pavilion garden is full of large bushes as well as colorful flowers and Chinese rosettes (fig. 89). Two tents are shown in the pavilion garden, one filled with seated figures holding cups, and another tent is set behind the pavilion with Khusraw's throne in front; an arrangement similar to the one in "Khusraw's lion combat". The upper and the lower spaces of the scene, representing the area outside the pavilion grounds, are colored gold, and filled with various colorful tents and figures of male and female attendants, while the golden sky of the upper zone also features trees and blossoming branches (fig. 90).

“The suicide of Shirin” (fig. 15) is another painting to occupy the full space of the folio and is shown in its own frame. The textbox space is made up of small text boxes that blend beautifully into the composition as part of the dense and intricate details. The two sides of the frame, within which the scene is shown, are asymmetrical and appear to be formed of two main parts: the rectangular vertical section that includes Khusraw’s mausoleum and the sky, and another vertical section that occupies the lower part of the folio, including the space outside the mausoleum.

In earlier copies of Nizami *Khamasa*, the scene is shown simply as a composition comprising only the two main figures in a simple structure. The artist of this scene was more ambitious, not only filling the illustration with details in the internal and external decoctions of the mausoleum, but also with figures showing emotions through the gestures and positions usually associated with death scenes.

The first illustrated folio of the *Haft Paykar*, “The enthronement of Bahram Gur,” is confined within the textbox space, except for the two figures holding horses extrude into the margin, as well as part of the throne and the pavilion dome (f. 163b, fig. 20). Through depicting two different types of landscape: the green carpet of large-scale plants, bushes and flowers in the lower half of the scene, and a pinkish and light brown hillock in the upper half, the artist has divided the composition into the lower section, where the main scene is depicted, and the upper section, where some male and female attendants are seen, both behind the rocky hillock and inside the domed pavilion. This use of landscape elements to complete and complement the main figures in a composition also appears in numerous fifteenth century paintings, in which the figures were depicted at the center of a

landscape setting.<sup>154</sup> This arrangement produces a number of diagonal compositions formed between the figures in the upper and the lower sections, especially between Bahram Gur and the female figures depicted inside and around the domed pavilion at the top right side. This also emphasizes the main scene through the eye-catching, detailed surrounding greenery.

The artist of this scene has also through gestures and postures emphasized the hierarchy between the figures.<sup>155</sup> Traditional arrangements of a royal scene show the royal figure, either a king or prince, seated on a throne. The throne is always given prominence, while the lower-ranking courtiers are either sitting or standing around the throne.

In “Bahram Gur enthroned” Bahram Gur is depicted in one half of the scene, while the rest of the figures in the other half. Bahram Gur is seated on an elaborately decorated throne of gold that dominates the left side of the scene, with part of it even extruding into the margin. His courtiers depicted in small clusters arranged in a circle, occupy the lower-right side. This compositional device can also be observed in some of the Jalayirid paintings, and more commonly in fifteenth century paintings.<sup>156</sup> It can be seen in earlier Turkman illustrated manuscripts from the mid fifteenth century, such as in “Bahram Gur hears complaints against his vizier” in TKS H. 773 (f. 219b),<sup>157</sup> “The envoy

---

<sup>154</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 208.

<sup>155</sup> Gharipour, *Persian Gardens*, 61.

<sup>156</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 207.

<sup>157</sup> An 864/1460–865/1461 copy of Nizami's *Khamsa* that was begun in Baghdad and finished in Shiraz under Pir Budaq, and was copied by ‘Abd al-Rahman, the father of this *Khamsa*'s calligrapher.

of Dara before Iskandar” in RAS M. 246 (f. 236b, fig. 192),<sup>158</sup> and “Iskandar and the seven sages” in Diez A. Fol. 7 *Khamsa* (f. 350a, fig. 195).

In the 874/1470 illustrated copy of Tabari’s *Tarikh* (CBL, 144), attributed to the Tabriz artists under the reign of Uzun Hasan, the scene of “Moses and the magicians of Pharaoh” is depicted using the same style of composition and circular arrangement of figures (f. 68b, fig. 198) as in this *Khamsa*’s “Bahram Gur enthroned.”<sup>159</sup> Those resemblances in the compositions indicate that “Bahram Gur enthroned” follows a long tradition of Turkman paintings dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.

The clusters of male attendants are depicted communicating, either by looking at each other or touching each other, in an attempt to bring the figures to life. As part of this circular arrangement, only parts of the two standing figures, and only the heads of the horses they each hold, appear inside the frame of the illustration, whereas the other parts are shown inside the right margin (fig. 92). This arrangement gives the impression that these two figures are entering the scene with the horses from the side. This feature is seen in Shiraz manuscripts from the 1430s and 1440s, as well as in others from Shiraz and Baghdad produced as the frontispiece in M. 246 (ff. 1b-2a, figs. 190, 191). This feature is shown in manuscripts attributed to Herat production in the late fifteenth century as in an 890/1485 Nawa’i’s *Sab’a Sayyara* (Bodleian Library, Elliot 317) (f. 14a, fig. 207).<sup>160</sup> The style of this *Sab’a Sayyara* illustration is considered exceptional when compared to the rest of the illustrations in this manuscript, leading some scholars to suggest that the

---

<sup>158</sup> It is copy of Nizami’s *Khamsa* dated to the early 1460s and scholars disagreeing on whether it was produced in Baghdad or Shiraz, see Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamseh*, 450 and Robinson, “The Turkman School,” 221.

<sup>159</sup> Robinson, “The Turkman School,” 226 and 241. Soucek referred to a resemblance between the only painting in Haydar Khwarazmi’s *Makhzan al-asrar* and “The enthronement of Bahram Gur” in this *Khamsa*, which is hard to notice, see Soucek, “*Makhzan al-asrar*,” 2.

<sup>160</sup> Robinson, “The Turkman School,” 465 and Stchoukine, *tîmûrides*, 124 and pl. LXXIV.

painter probably belonged to the old generation of artists in the Herat workshop, who adopted a style that had been formed before Bihzad.<sup>161</sup> Another fantastic feature is the female attendant embracing a tree, which we saw earlier in *Khamsa*'s two scenes, "Farhad carrying Shirin on her horse" (f. 69a) and "Khusraw leaving Shirin's palace" (f. 82b, fig. 95).

The second illustration in the *Haft Paykar*, "Fitna's feat of strength" (f. 167a), is illustrated in a composition similar to "Bahram Gur enthroned," both in the size of the illustration and in the arrangement of the figures (fig. 21). This illustration is also confined to the textbox, except for a side of the pavilion and Bahram Gur's throne on the rooftop that extrude into the left margin, and the two standing figures watching the main scene who are depicted in the right margin. The main composition here follows that in "Bahram Gur enthroned," where Bahram Gur is placed at the edge of the left half of the scene, while the rest of the figures are in the right half, resulting in a number of diagonal compositions between the figures.

Depicting the pavilion at the left edge divides the painting vertically into two sections, the pavilion and the area outside it. The area outside the pavilion is filled with two overlapping rocky hillocks covered with tufts of grass, and with two small ponds surrounded by a thick band of greenery at the upper edge of the pinkish rocky hillock, and also at the bottom of the scene, while three different trees, one of them appearing to be blown by the wind, fill the sky. The circular arrangement found to the right in "Bahram Gur enthroned" is replaced here by a small cluster of five figures, of which four are positioned to form a square, while the fifth, a bearded figure, sits on the ground with

---

<sup>161</sup> Robinson, *Bodleian Library*, 67.

his arms around his knees (fig. 102). The rest of the figures are depicted either standing behind the rocky hillocks, behind Bahram Gur's throne or looking out from the pavilion door and windows.

In both paintings Bahram Gur is emphasized not through depicting him in a larger scale, but by placing him within a dominating structure to emphasize his figure. In "Bahram Gur enthroned" this effect is achieved by the large throne (fig. 97), while in this scene, he is seated on the same throne on the top of a tall, large-scale pavilion that dominates the left of the scene (fig. 98). The main figures, Bahram Gur and Fitna, form a diagonal composition by depicting them looking at each other, while Fitna climbs the pavilion ladder.

The artist was not very successful in depicting Fitna carrying the ox as she climbs the ladder to reach Bahram Gur at the top of the pavilion (fig. 101). Both the wooden ladder and Fitna lack perspective and depth, which makes the ladder look flat and makes Fitna appear to be walking in the air. An interesting female figure is seen seated behind the pavilion holding the ladder with one hand. According to the text, this pavilion had a high staircase as part of the structure and not a wooden ladder as depicted in this scene. It is possible that the artist tried to show some sense of logic in this inaccurate and unrealistic scene through depicting this figure holding the ladder as if she is stabilizing it. Three Chinese clouds at the top are shown in three different styles, as if the artist was trying different rendering techniques (figs. 103-105).

"Bahram Gur at the black pavilion" takes up most of the textbox except for a very small part of the building, which extrudes to the right margin together with three standing figures, a rocky hillock with trees and birds, and the three steps leading to the

door that extend beyond the lower margin (f. 171b, fig. 22). The scene is divided into two unequal, vertical sections: the inner room of the pavilion, which is surmounted by a dome, occupies the wide vertical section on the left side, and the pavilion entrance occupies the narrow right section. The inner room has a dais, which is occupied by Bahram Gur and the princess, and a lower level, where two female attendants sit, where there is a plant in a white vase with blue decoration and a metal ewer inside a bowl.

Bahram Gur reclines on the cushions with his green cloak spread on the mattress. He wears a Turkman turban, and is holding a fan in one hand, while he gestures toward the princess with the other as she kneels on the right side, and the two female attendants sleep (fig. 106). At the entrance, a woman is standing in the half-opened door, in conversation with a female and two male figures outside, who are seen leaning towards her (fig. 107). The motif of the figure standing in the half-opened door is frequently encountered in Shiraz paintings dated to the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>162</sup> Additionally, the architectural scheme with the dome appearing above a section of text, and with a summary depiction of the entrance on one side appears frequently in Shiraz manuscripts of the 1480s and 90s.<sup>163</sup>

Many similarities can be noted between this painting and those from the *Khamsa*. “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion” in the Shah Rukh *Khamsa* is done in almost the same arrangement as this scene. Likewise, it is divided vertically between the pavilion interior and the entrance, with the dome depicted in the upper margin, again above the text (f. 272a, fig. 180). The remainder of the seven scenes of Bahram Gur at the princesses’ pavilions from the Shah Rukh *Khamsa* are shown in the same arrangement as in “Bahram

---

<sup>162</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamsah*, 329.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 414.

Gur at the black pavilion” in this *Khamsa*, except for the pavilion entrance, which is shown as part of the pavilion’s inner walls in the Shah Rukh *Khamsa* (f. 296a, fig. 182). The arrangements of the figures, Bahram Gur, the princes and the sleeping female attendants, are similar to those shown in “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” in the Shah Rukh *Khamsa* (f. 285b, fig. 181).

An exceptional dark-colored rocky hillock covered with tufts of grass is shown in the right margin, with three standing figures on its side (fig. 108). The dark-colored rocky edge of the hillock depicts animal faces (figs. 109, 110), and oval-shaped trees with thick foliage as well as bare branches that protrude in front of the hillock at the top and at the bottom right. Birds, both large- and small-scale are seen standing on the rocks as well as flying. This fantastical arrangement is exaggerated further in “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” (f. 177b, fig. 23) and “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” (f. 180b, fig. 24), where it dominates the entire paintings. This makes us question whether the small rocky landscape arrangement in the margin of “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion” scene was an early experiment done by the artist(s) of the yellow and the green pavilion paintings or was done by an apprentice imitating his master’s work.

“Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” is divided into an upper section occupied by the framed main scene and a lower section occupied by an irregular arrangement of rocky landscape framed only at two sides (fig. 23). The outer line around the main scene is the same width as the textbox but much longer, extending to the upper margin. The composition in the main scene shows both the exterior and interior of the pavilion by dividing the space into three vertical sections. The largest of these is on the left: an interior scene depicting the two main characters, and where a narrow wall of bricks

shows the outer wall of the pavilion and another is filled with blue sky and Chinese clouds.

The composition of this scene follows similar examples in manuscripts from Shiraz dating from the first half of the fifteenth century. Among those early manuscripts is an *Anthology* (BL, Add. 27261), which was probably produced in Shiraz for Iskandar Sultan, the grandson of Timur and ruler of much of southern Iran from 1409 to 1414. Soucek stated that the illustrations in this manuscript are considered the most influential on the work of later Persian painters, since almost all the compositions in its Nizami's *Khamsa* appears in some form in later manuscripts.<sup>164</sup> This influence can be seen by comparing the composition of both "Bahram Gur at the black pavilion" in Add. 27261 (f. 160b, fig. 174) and "Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion" in this *Khamsa*. Both paintings show the outside and the inside of the pavilion with Bahram Gur reclines on a cushion with his hand behind his head, and the princess seats beside his feet (fig. 111). "Bahram Gur at the black pavilion" illustrated in H. 781 (f. 167b, fig. 185) show similarities in the composition and the representation of the two main figures with this *Khamsa*'s "Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion" and Add. 27261's "Bahram Gur at the black pavilion" (fig. 174). The roots of most compositional styles in *Khamsa* H. 781 are considered to extend to either the Jalayirid period or to that of Iskandar Sultan.<sup>165</sup>

The main difference between the three scenes is in the division of space, which can be noticed in the position of the attendants. In BL Add. 27261, the attendants are depicted outside the pavilion, which leaves less space for the main scene, while in H. 781, the attendants are depicted waiting at the sides on a lower level of the room, which

---

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>165</sup> Brend, *Muhammad Juki's*, 142.

allowed the artist to stretch the pavilion's inner space further to the sides, giving more space for the main scene. In this *Khamisa* the artist decided to give the advantage to the space outside the pavilion by painting colorful overlapping hills with rocky edges, and trees and other greenery with figures popping out of it. The figures are shown in an irregular arrangement, either as couples in conversation or involved in some activity, except for a standing figure looking down at something from behind a hillock (fig. 113). At the bottom right, four figures are arranged in a cluster; two are having a conversation, one of them holding a bow and arrow, while the other peers out from behind a hillock (fig. 112). In front of them, the two female attendants sitting on the ground are probably having a drink together with the one on the right offering the other a golden cup with a golden ewer in front of her and the other on the left, embracing a tree, is reaching for it. On the top, two female attendants appear as if they are inside the pavilion, with one sitting partly behind the hillock, while the other is standing with a golden ewer in her left hand and reaching for something with the other, probably offering to refill the other's cup (fig. 111).

In "Bahram Gur at the green pavilion," the landscape is depicted in the same style and irregular form but in a different arrangement (f. 180b, fig. 24). This illustration differs in its size and arrangement from all the previous scenes in the *Haft Payer*. The illustration occupies the full space of the folio, the main focus being a polygonal structure at the bottom left corner, with a rocky landscape behind it. Among the hills occupying the space beside the pavilion, two figures are depicted in conversation; one is holding a horse and standing behind a rocky hill, while the other dark-skinned one stands behind the polygonal structure of the pavilion (fig. 116). The upper right corner of the illustration is

filled with a genre scene of three figures standing behind rocky hillocks, and two leopards hiding in front of them (fig. 117). The figure in the front is holding a bow and arrow seems to be about to shoot a leopard behind a rocky hill, while another leopard growls behind a rocky hill at the archer. The two figures standing behind the hunter are looking at the gazelles or quadrupeds on the other side (fig. 118). This well-constructed hunting scene is mainly formed from a number of diagonal arrangements between the figures and the two leopards and the gazelles. The rocky hills are covered with tufts of grass, blossoming branches, birds, either flying or standing on the hills, and various animals (fig. 119).

This painting's composition is similar to that of "Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion" (fig. 205) and "Bahram Gur at the red pavilion" (fig. 206) in the CBL Per. 162 *Khamsa*. In the two scenes, the figures of Bahram Gur, the princess and the female attendants are all depicted within the interior of the pavilion, and the style is derived from the Herat tradition found in H. 781's "Bahram Gur at the black pavilion" (fig. 185).<sup>166</sup> Another arrangement common to these in CBL Per. 162 is the absence of any exterior features of the pavilions, such as a door or external walls. Only the garden, beside and behind the pavilion, is depicted, and either a watchman or male attendants are shown outside the pavilion, which is a feature derived from the Shiraz tradition.<sup>167</sup> These two scenes show an unusual combination of elements from both the Shiraz and the Herat traditions.<sup>168</sup> The arrangements of the rocky landscape in both the yellow and the green pavilion scenes in this *Khamsa* are probably an evolution of the traditional way of

---

<sup>166</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamsah*, 540.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

portraying the gardens, either beside or behind the pavilions. In both cases, however, the artist did not depict them in the right perspective, which gave the components of the scene the appearance of patchwork.

“Bahram Gur at the red pavilion” (f. 183b, fig. 25) and “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion” (f. 187a, fig. 26) are the last paintings in the *Haft Paykar*. “Bahram Gur at the red pavilion” is illustrated in a rectangular box that is wider and deeper than the textboxes placed within the illustration. The artist here has depicted Bahram Gur and the princess in a garden pavilion rather than in a closed structure as in the previous paintings. An elaborate external wall divided into compartments and with a tall gateway, encloses the garden pavilion, which occupies the central section of the composition. Based on this arrangement, the scene is divided into three sections: the area in front of the pavilion occupies the lower section, the pavilion itself occupies the middle, and the garden behind it fills the upper section.

The area in front of the pavilion is covered with a carpet of green vegetation interrupted with narrow strips of water, and stairs, on which a watchman sleeps, lead to the pavilion entrance (fig. 121). The pavilion interior is divided into an upper and lower section, the lower section being occupied with two figures sleeping on the external wall (figs. 122, 123). Bahram Gur and the princess are seated beside each other on cushions in the upper section, and he is holding the princess’s arm (fig. 120). The central area where these two figures are sitting, is recessed as in the green pavilion scene (f. 180b) and is roofed with a simple structure fixed on four columns with a dome on the top, while the sides of the upper section contain a golden bowl of fruit, some long-necked bottles on the right side, and plants in blue and white vases on the left side. The garden behind the

pavilion, which occupies the upper section of the scene, contains a number of blossoming branches, and a golden sky filled with white Chinese clouds and birds, while two attendants are standing one behind the other at the right side, watching Bahram Gur and the princess, forming the only diagonal composition in the scene (fig. 124).

In “Bahram Gur in the blue pavilion” (f. 187a, fig. 26), he and the princess are shown in an open polygonal courtyard similar to that in the red pavilion (f. 183b) but within a busier composition. The scene is illustrated in what is almost a square box, with the same length as the text box but wider by the size of the left margin. The composition comprises two zones, the blue pavilion structure occupying the illustration’s right side, and the garden filling the remaining space. The two sections are filled with a number of figures, either standing individually or arranged in clusters, and depicted in different positions. The pavilion structure is given more perspective compared to its representation in previous paintings, which were restricted either to the interior with some external features (ff. 171b, 177b and 180b) or to an enclosed open courtyard (f. 183b). The pavilion here is a domed rectangular building in the background with two tents in front of it (fig. 126). The door in the building opens into a polygonal courtyard in which another door opens into the outer garden, which is reached by a wooden bridge crossing a stream (fig. 130).

Inside the polygonal open courtyard, Bahram Gur and the princess are sitting on a high golden throne with male and female attendants engaged in various activities around them. Bahram Gur rests his right arm on a cushion and holds the royal napkin in one hand, while holding the princess’s hand by the other, as she kneels beside him and offers him a gold cup (fig. 125). The courtyard’s floor and inner walls are covered with blue

hexagonal tiles with a golden star in the middle, only in front of the throne, surrounding a polylobed fountain. In accordance to the usual custom, the female attendants are positioned on the princess's side of the throne, while the male attendants are placed on Bahram Gur's side. On the princess's side two female musicians, a harpist and a tambourine player, sit with a third attendant, shown in profile, who watches them (fig. 127). Two other attendants, also shown in profile, kneel on the floor beside the princess; one holding a golden platter, probably for Bahram Gur's cup. On Bahram Gur's side two male attendants are shown, one is his sword-bearer and the other stands behind a tall tree and carries a robe (fig. 128).

The princess's female musicians are sitting in front of the courtyard's right side door, which is guarded by a doorkeeper who holds a stick in his hand (fig. 126). On the other side of the courtyard, four male attendants are shown in pairs on each side of a gold rectangular table with ewers, jars and a ceramic bowl on it (fig. 129). The pair on the left side of the table are shown standing one behind the other, where the one in front is holding a golden jar in one hand and turning his head back to the other attendant behind him, who is shown in profile with his hand resting on the first one's back as if whispering to him. On the right side of the table, the attendant in the front is shown in the same way as the one opposite, except for his face, which is shown in profile, and the attendant behind him appears to be pointing at something at the side. Behind the left side door of the courtyard, a veiled woman watches the figures shown in the external garden, while another is shown in the half-opened door with a raised finger as if rebuking the white-bearded figure sitting on the wooden bridge that leads from the courtyard to the external garden (fig. 130). Two golden ewers are shown in front of the white-bearded figure, and a

doorkeeper holding a stick, two musicians, a lutist, a tambourine player and a female attendant standing behind the musicians are all shown to the left of the white-bearded figure. In the background, two veiled female attendants are shown holding a conversation, and the dark skinned one is washing an item of clothing in the stream, while the other leans over her, embracing a tree (fig. 132). Above the golden throne, an angel is seen in the thick foliage of a tree, watching Bahram Gur and the princess (fig. 133).

Various other figures are shown within the pavilion structure, three male attendants stand on the rooftop, beside the blue dome that is decorated with arabesque patterns, one attendant is seen talking to another, shown in profile, on the ground level, another male attendant shown in profile pulls a string to adjust the tent, and a female attendant picks flowers and carries a golden platter (fig. 126).

In this illustration the main scene is depicted in the space of the polygonal open courtyard, while the rest of the illustration is filled with genre scenes. This arrangement is used to illustrate a number of scenes in an earlier copy of Nizami's *Khamasa*, probably produced in Yazd (TKS, H. 786).<sup>169</sup> Among the scenes shown in the same arrangement in *Khamasa* H. 786 are the double page frontispieces (ff. 1b-2a, figs. 186, 187), "Khusraw, Shirin and the maidens" (f. 49b), "Bahram Gur at the black pavilion" (f. 169a), "Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion" (f. 184a) and "Bahram Gur at the white pavilion" (f. 143b, fig. 189). In each of those scenes, the prince and princess are shown sitting on a high throne, flanked by courtiers and musicians, who occupy the foreground of the scene in a semicircular arrangement. Another characteristic of these scenes is the intricate

---

<sup>169</sup> According to the colophon, this manuscript was completed in 850/1446–1447 for Khwaju Yusuf Shah, son of the late Amir-Amiran al-Tabrizi by 'Ali b. Iskandar al-Quhistani, the scribe, and Sultan 'Ali al-Bavardi as the painter and gilder, see Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 277-281 and 464.

decoration of the architectural features, especially the wall tiles and the fountain in the center. A similar arrangement but in a less intricate form than those illustrated in H. 786 could be found in Shiraz manuscripts from the second half of the fifteenth century, such as “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” and “Bahram Gur at the red pavilion” in CBL Per. 162 (figs. 205, 206).

Soucek mentions that the arrangements of those paintings in H. 786 are similar to “Humay and Humayun in the garden” in BL Add. 18113 (f. 40b, fig. 168).<sup>170</sup> By comparing this *Khamsa*’s blue pavilion scene and the painting in BL Add. 18113, we can notice other similarities beside the arrangement of the scene that are absent from the H. 786 illustrations, such as the female attendant holding a golden platter in one hand and picking flowers with the other (figs. 131, 171). This comparison shows that each of the blue pavilion scene in this *Khamsa*, Bahram Gur at the princesses’ scenes in H. 786 and “Humay and Humayun in the garden” in BL Add. 18113 share a lot of similarities. The arrangements therefore form a strong link between the three, in the architectural features in H. 762 and H. 786 and in some of the figures in H. 762 and BL Add. 18113, which indicates that the artist of this *Khamsa*’s blue pavilion painting was either familiar with the Turkman style in Yazd and that of the Jalayirids or with other manuscript illustrations that combined both styles before this *Khamsa*. The matter of the perspective used in these scenes is more complex, however.

Although in some paintings of H. 786, the prince or Bahram Gur is shown holding the princess’ hand, it is in another copy of Nizami’s *Khamsa* (TKS, Revan 862), dating from to 844-5/1440-3 and produced in Shiraz, that we can find a closer resemblance to

---

<sup>170</sup> Soucek, *Nizami’s Khamsah*, 314.

the position of Bahram Gur and the princess shown in the blue pavilion scene shown in this *Khamsa*.<sup>171</sup> The artist of this scene tried to introduce a sense of depth and perspective by showing the architecture in isometric form, in a similar manner to those in “Khusraw visiting Shirin’s palace” (fig. 12) and “Khusraw leaving Shirin’s palace” (f. 82b, fig. 13).

“Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” occupies the full folio space and is surrounded by a frame similar to that of the text box (f. 192a, fig. 27). The pavilion, which dominates the scene, is vertically divided into an inner chamber occupying the right side, and the external walls with the main entrance on the left, which is similar to “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion” (f. 171b, fig. 22). The pavilion also resembles a simpler one in Amir Khusrau Dihlavi’s *Diwan* (CBL, 233) (f. 131a, fig. 210),<sup>172</sup> and another in Asafi’s *Jamal and Jalal* (f. 92b, fig. 214), where the external wall extends with an inclined angle to the sides, and with windows suspended over the garden on both sides as well as an inscription panel over the door. The scene in H. 762 is full of detail, both in the decoration of the pavilion and in the trees and blossoms, as well as in the figures shown performing various activities in the pavilion or in the garden in front of it. The main figures of this scene are shown in the same position as in “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion,” except for the position of Bahram Gur who is facing the princess (figs. 115, 136). The landscape in front of the pavilion is busy with figures similar to “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion.”

This composition is similar to that of “The death of Jalal” in Asafi’s *Jamal and Jalal* (f. 108a, fig. 215). In “The death of Jalal scene,” a domed building occupies the left side of the scene as in the sandalwood pavilion scene and an inner courtyard, which was

---

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., pl. 160.

<sup>172</sup> It was probably produced in Tabriz in the late fifteenth century.

replaced with landscape in the sandalwood pavilion scene, and a figure stands at an entrance on the left side of the building on the right side. In “The death of Jalal”, a carved stone pot containing a blossoming Chinese tree appears to be attached to the building on the left with three figures around it: one is standing beside the tree, while a second stands behind the building, and a third in front of it is sitting on the side of a square pool with his legs in it. A pot containing a tree besides a building is also shown in the scene of “The thief is beaten in the bedroom,” a painting that is today mounted as an album painting but was originally part of a Jalayirid copy of *Kalila wa Dimna* dated c. 1370-4 (IUL, F. 1422) (f. 24a, fig. 165). The same arrangement is shown in the sandalwood pavilion scene but with some differences: the stone pot is decorated with vegetal and floral scrolls and a dragon, and the blossoming tree branch was pushed aside with a male figure is clutching the top of it and the pavilion’s entrance and external wall is placed on the top of it (fig. 141). This scene shares a lot of details with “The death of Jalal” in Asafi’s *Jamal and Jalal*, such as the Chinese clouds (figs. 143, 216), the shape and decoration of the dome (figs. 139, 217), and the various other decorative features of the building (figs. 141, 218 and 219).

Bahram Gur with his elongated and almost neckless figure (fig. 136) resembles Rustam in the two paintings that were detached from an unfinished copy of the *Shahnama* dated around 1515-22 (figs. 220, 223).<sup>173</sup> Further resemblances in those three illustrations include the shape of the curvaceous Chinese clouds, the trees and blossoms (figs. 137, 140, 142, 221 and 222) and the busyness of the scene with details and vegetation.

---

<sup>173</sup> Robinson, “Origin and Date,” 105-112.

“Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” follows the previous painting in occupying the full folio space, with the gold-colored background filled with different trees and blossoming branches, and the mixture of coral-like rocks and large-scale vegetation (f. 196a, fig. 28). The arrangement of the scene is not very different from the previous scenes of Bahram Gur at the princesses’ pavilions but its style is closer to that of “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” in the richness of detail, the colorful rocks, the slim, elongated figures. The trees and blossoms are less detailed, but still as beautiful as in the previous scene. Two interesting features shown in this painting are the spiral water course inside the pavilion, which is unique in this manuscript, and the wooden bridge, where a male attendant is standing with lit torches, as in the scene of “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion.”

“Iskandar and the dying Dara” is illustrated within the space of the text box, except for the part that occupies the left margin and a flag in the upper margin (f. 233a, fig. 30). The artist has used color to divide the composition of this scene into zones, the four hills with rocky edges and covered with tufts of grass being differentiated by four different colors: mauve, orange, mint green and golden green. The circular arrangement of the scene has the two main figures, Iskandar and Dara, at the center on the orange hill (fig. 145), surrounded by figures, either standing or mounted, in a circular arrangement. The two captured figures, which are also part of the main scene, are distinguished by being shown standing independently on the mint-colored rocky hill; also as part of the circular arrangement around the main figures (fig. 146). All the surrounding figures, and even the spectators at the top of the scene (fig. 150), form a diagonal composition with the two protagonists.

At the bottom of the Iskandar and Dara scene, three sleeping figures are shown (figs. 147, 148); the one wearing a blue garment resembles the sleeping doorkeeper in the scene of “Bahram Gur at the red pavilion” (fig. 121). Another interesting figure in this scene is the mounted figure shown standing in the margin behind the green mint-colored rocky hill (fig. 149). He is seen turning his head back to watch the main scene with signs of astonishment, shown by placing his finger in his mouth. The ground on which the three sleeping figures are shown is covered with large-scale vegetation, which is exceptional in its style when compared to others shown in this *Khamisa*.

This painting’s style and composition are similar to “Khusraw watches Shirin bathing” (f. 38b, fig. 8), as both illustrations are contained within the space of the textbox except for one side that extrudes into the margin. The style of the rocky-edged hills with (figs. 47, 148) trees and flowers (figs. 48, 149), and the color palette are all common features of the two. “Iskandar and the dying Dara” shows the sky-blue background inside the text box, with three different shapes of clouds, while, probably to depict a sense of rhythm, flying birds extrude into the margin at the top left with the color of the page itself as the background.

“Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait” is illustrated in a rectangular box with a frame similar to that of “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” and only some treetops and blossoms extrude into the upper margin (f. 244a, fig. 31). The dominating feature in this scene is Nushaba’s highly decorated golden throne with two richly decorated canopies. The placement of the throne with the royal figure sitting on it at one side with figures standing behind it, and another figure sitting on the ground to the left of the throne, is an arrangement similar to that in “Bahram Gur enthroned” (f. 163b, fig. 20). In

this scene, a highly decorated and colorful carpet, on which the two main figures are shown, separates the background landscape from the patterned floor of the foreground of the same color; the foreground also featuring a star-shaped fountain. The various male and female attendants that are either sitting or standing have elongated bodies, long necks and round faces (figs. 151, 152). The arrangement of the landscape is spacious, featuring just enough trees and blossoms to complete the background. The subtly painted faces in the rocky edge of the hill add further interest to the scene, and an exceptional pink rock dominates the upper left space, showing a multitude of faces of humans and other creatures (fig. 154). The arabesque and the floral scrolls decorating the canopies, together with the throne (fig. 153) are distinct from those intricate decorations in “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (figs. 139, 141) and in “Iskandar and the wise shepherd” (figs. 158, 160).

“Iskandar and the wise shepherd” is illustrated in a rectangular box that is wider and longer than the textbox by the space of the left and lower margin consecutively (f. 285a, fig. 33). The scene is divided between the pavilion, where Iskandar is shown standing on the roof and the area outside the pavilion, where the shepherd and his dog are shown, together with sheep and goats. The gold-colored background is filled with variously shaped trees and blossoming branches as well as a wavy Chinese cloud in the top left.

The sick female attendant’s room is shown in section to reveal the figures inside (fig. 157). The pavilion is highly decorated, both inside and outside, recalling “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (f. 192a) and “Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” (f. 196a). In addition, the inclined side and projecting window of the pavilion are similar to

those shown in this *Khamisa* (fig. 27), in Asafi's *Jamal and Jalal* (fig. 214) and "Tahmina entering Rustam's chamber" (fig. 224), which is one of the three illustrations attributed to the unfinished *Shahnama* for Shah Isma'il.

The two main figures in "Iskandar and the wise shepherd" are set in a diagonal arrangement, with Iskandar standing on the roof of his pavilion looking down to the shepherd who is shown looking up. This arrangement of placing one figure at the top of a building while the other is on the ground is similar to that of Khusraw and Shirin both in "Khusraw visits Shirin's palace" and "Khusraw leaves Shirin's palace." This painting's figures are portrayed in different sizes that are not based on the scene's perspective or on the importance of the figures in the scene. This detail is seen in the size of the two main protagonists and in the scale of the standing female attendants in the inner chamber. The elongated figure seen in the female attendants is also shown in two other scenes; "Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion" (fig. 138) and "Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait" (fig. 151). The female attendants both in "Iskandar and the wise shepherd" and "Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion" have the same style, which is different from those in "Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait." Although elongated figures are also shown in the paintings of Bahram Gur at the black, yellow and green pavilions, they are totally different in style.

"Iskandar and the wise shepherd" shares a number of common features with that of "Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion," such as the dense and intricate detail, the color palette, the detailed trees with highlighted trunks, and the leaves with different shades of green and blossoming branches (figs. 159, 142), the Chinese clouds (figs. 162, 143), the vegetal and floral scrolls with Chinese rosette decorations (figs. 160, 139),

especially in the main pavilion entrance in the two scenes (figs. 158, 141) as well as in the rocky hillocks (figs. 163, 137). “Iskandar and the wise shepherd” (fig. 161) shows different styles in the rendering of the rocky edges of the hillocks, two of which can also be seen in “Rustam lassoing Kamus” (figs. 227), which is one of the three illustrations that originally belonged to an unfinished copy of *Shahnama* intended for Shah Isma‘il (fig. 223).<sup>174</sup>

The dog with the sheep and goats shown at the right side of the scene make for another interesting detail in this scene; appearing to enter the scene from the right margin (fig. 156). A similar feature is shown in two illustrations attributed to Sultan Muhammad in the Shah Tahmasp *Shahnama*, “Zahhak slays the cow Birmaya” (f. 30a, figs. 233, 234) and “The feast of Sada” (f. 22a, figs. 230, 235).<sup>175</sup>

### 3.2 Architectural and Decorative Features

The architectural settings can be divided into three different types in the illustrations in this *Khamsa*: pavilion, kiosk and tent. The form of the architectural setting is chosen according to the scene’s requirements. In some paintings, an external view is required, and this can be shown in perspective as in “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (f. 12a, fig. 6), “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” (fig. 12), “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (f. 82b, fig. 13), “Fitna’s feat of strength” (f. 167a, fig. 21) and “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion” (f. 187a, fig. 26). Alternatively, an external view, or an elevation can be used such as in “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” (f. 69a, fig. 11) and “Bahram Gur enthroned” (f.

---

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 105-112.

<sup>175</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:76–79 and 2: pl. 9 and 17.

163b, fig. 20). Showing the pavilion in perspective is considered a way of showing the hidden angles of a building, which could not be seen in a two-dimensional facade.<sup>176</sup>

The external decoration of pavilions varies, according to the style of each illustration. The pavilions in “Bahram Gur enthroned” and “Fitna’s feat of strength” are the simplest in terms of size and decoration among all showing the exterior of a pavilion. In “Bahram Gur enthroned,” the dome of the pavilion is decorated with very simple arabesques, while the external walls are colored green with a faint but very elegant floral scroll. In “Fitna’s feat of strength,” the pavilion is completely covered with what looks like hexagonal tiles; a blue inscription panel is set above the main entrance (fig. 100), and an arched stucco window is set above that. The pavilion’s parapet is also decorated with floral scrolls as well as an interlacing pattern on the inside (fig. 99).

The external decoration of the pavilions changes in “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse,” “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” and “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace.” In each of the three paintings, the domes are decorated with intricate designs, except for the back pavilion shown in “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” (fig. 72). The palace in “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” has an exceptional roofing structure from which spring dragon-headed struts hung with flying tassels (fig. 86). The same struts also appear in “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” springing from part of the pavilion in the background (fig. 73b) and from one edge of the fence in the foreground (fig. 73a).

The pavilions shown in “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” and “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” have many common decorative features, such as the spandrels of the entrance arch, which are decorated with angels and spiral scrolls and a polylobed

---

<sup>176</sup> Gharipour, *Persian Gardens*, 66.

medallion on the side walls of the entrance (figs. 76, 83). Spandrels with angels holding out platters in their hands recalls “Nushirwan and Buzurjmihir in conversation” (f. 91a, fig. 172) in BL Add. 18113 and in another form in CBL Per. 162 (figs. 205, 206). This decorative feature, which may have originated through the direct or the indirect influence of the Sasanian precedent in Taq-i Bustan, was a common in fifteenth century manuscripts.<sup>177</sup> The face between the angels in BL Add. 18113 (fig. 172) is similar to the sun shown in the scene of “Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait” (fig. 153), which, it has been suggested, may have been a representation of a heavenly body such as the moon or Venus.<sup>178</sup>

The roofs in both pavilions are decorated with cartouches filled with floral scrolls (figs. 76, 80), which is a feature also present in “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (fig. 42) and “The suicide of Shirin” (fig. 15). The various patterns and use of different rendering techniques in the exterior wall decorations of the pavilion are seen in the pavilions of “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” and in “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion.”

Some paintings show the pavilion interior, and this was usually done by removing some of the external walls, either totally, as in “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” (f. 180b, fig. 24) or partially, while also showing the external walls, which may include the main entrance to the pavilion as in “Khusraw and Shirin united” (f. 89b, fig. 14), “The suicide of Shirin” (fig. 15), “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion” (f. 171b, fig. 22), “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” (f. 177b, fig. 23), “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (f. 192a, fig. 27), “Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” (f. 196a, fig. 28) and

---

<sup>177</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 349-350.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 349.

“Iskandar and the wise shepherd” (f. 285a, fig. 33). This arrangement is used to show private aspects of people’s lives related, for example, to love, sex or even murder.<sup>179</sup> This concept of closed spaces for love scenes was not followed in the traditional way in “Bahram Gur at the red pavilion” or “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion,” where the lovers were shown sitting in a kiosk as in the red pavilion scene or in an open courtyard as in the blue scene. The artists of those paintings tried to show a sense of privacy in the open space by surrounding the open spaces with fences and doors, which are used to define an area belonging to a private building.<sup>180</sup>

In some paintings, the pavilions divide the inner walls into an upper section colored white, decorated in some cases with blue paintings, while the lower section is covered with hexagonal tiles. This is seen in “Khusraw and Shirin united,” “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion,” “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” and “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion.” In other scenes the interior is much more detailed, as in “The suicide of Shirin,” “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion,” “Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” and “Iskandar and the wise shepherd.” The white wall is filled with blue drawings of clouds, trees, animals and hunting scenes, while the lower part contains colorful tiles in a variety of shapes and sizes. The scenes with rich interior decoration also have rich exterior decoration of colorful geometrical patterns, arabesques and floral scrolls with Chinese rosettes. This rich decoration in the pavilions’ interior and exterior, in addition to the inscribed panels reading “*al-Sultan*” (the Sultan) or “*al-Sultan al-‘adil*” (the Just Sultan) could find resemblance in some scenes in Asafi’s *Jamal u Jalal* (fig. 213).

---

<sup>179</sup> Gharipour, *Persian Gardens*, 47.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

In some of the pavilion windows, a tree either with a thick foliage (fig. 142) or blossoms and flowers (fig. 157) are shown in the frame. This decorative technique appears in most of the interior scenes in this *Khamsa* as a way to bring the outdoor garden into the building, creating a lighter and more transparent interior.<sup>181</sup>

Fences are shown in others paintings of this *Khamsa* to separate a building from the surrounding space, as in “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse,” “Khusraw visiting Shirin’s palace,” “Khusraw and Shirin united” and “Suicide of Shirin.” Another type of architectural setting is the trellis tent and awnings, which are shown in different shapes and sizes as in “Khusraw’s lion combat,” “Shirin and Khusraw united,” “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion” and “Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait,” which include the most elaborate awnings in this *Khamsa* (fig. 153).

### 3.3 Landscape Settings

In the early examples of the Turkman style, there were two ways of rendering the ground for a scene: either a simple pale-colored rocky landscape covered with tufts of grass or completely covered with large masses of vegetation without any rocky hillocks, colored in different shades of yellow and light green.<sup>182</sup> Those two styles were retained at the time this *Khamsa* was begun, and a third was produced by combining the first two styles. This combination meant that the ground of a scene would be covered with a mixture of rocky hillocks and leafy vegetation.<sup>183</sup> This newer style is seen in “The enthronement of Bahram Gur” (f. 163b), “Fitna’s feat of strength” (f. 167a), “Bahram

---

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>182</sup> Robinson, “Origin and Date,” 107.

<sup>183</sup> Canby, *Persian Painting*, 55.

Gur at the yellow pavilion” (f. 177b) and “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” (f. 180b). The landscapes in the last two scenes have energetically charged compositions, which show the inanimate landscape as active as animate life through the bold, original and varied treatments of rocks, bare bushes and the tall, upright bushy trees.<sup>184</sup> Human and animal faces emerge from the rocks in some of these scene; a feature never found in the later Herat style, and the hues of rocks and hills melt into one another with a disregard for spatial logic.<sup>185</sup> In “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse,” O’Kane stated that the style of the rocky faces in this scene is derived from those shown in Baysunghur *Kalila and Dimna*.<sup>186</sup>

The ground used for a scene in the early Safavid style was an advanced version of those used in the Turkman style, especially those shown in the paintings of the yellow and green pavilions, which increased in fineness and complexity.<sup>187</sup> The simple, pale-colored rocky horizon covered with tufts of grass in the Turkman style developed in the Safavid style into more elegant and colorful rocky edges, where the tufts of grass were brought closer together, and the plants became more elaborate. These features can be noted in “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (f. 12a), “Khusraw’s lion combat” (f. 46a) and even in one of the illustrations, which is assumed to be dated to the Aq Quyunlu additions, “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” (f. 51b).

The third method of representing ground in the Turkman style that was developed in the Safavid style involved a more elaborate and organized composition, as in “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (f. 192a), “Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” (f. 196a),

---

<sup>184</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube. *Peerless Images*, 62 and Robinson, “The Turkman School,” 241.

<sup>185</sup> Canby, “Safavid painting,” 73-74 and Robinson, “The Turkman School,” 241.

<sup>186</sup> O’Kane, “Rock Faces,” 224.

<sup>187</sup> Robinson, “Origin and Date,” 112.

“Iskandar and the dying Dara” (f. 233a) and “Iskandar and the wise shepherd” (f. 285a). The landscape style in these illustrations is usually compared with two Safavid manuscripts; Asafi’s *Jamal and Jalal* (fig. 213) and the unfinished Firdausi *Shahnama* that was intended for Shah Isma‘il (figs. 220, 223).<sup>188</sup>

### 3.4 Human Figures, Animals and Fantastical Creatures

Human figures are one of the features that differentiate styles from one another and are in some cases the feature that scholars built their arguments on in order to attribute an illustration to a certain painter or style. In the illustrations in this *Khamsa* we can spot six different ways in which figures are depicted; two in the illustrations dated to the Aq Quyunlu additions and four in the illustrations dating from the Safavid additions. The first group of figures have elongated bodies with narrow sloping shoulders, oval or round faces with a slender neck and a languorous figure.<sup>189</sup> These features can be noted in “Bahram Gur enthroned” (fig. 94), “Fitna’s feat of strength” (fig. 102), “Bahram Gur at the black pavilion” (fig. 107), “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” (Fig. 111), “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” (Fig. 115) and “Bahram Gur at the red pavilion” (fig. 25).

The second group of figures has the same characteristics of the first group but their bodies are a little fuller and firmer with rounder or more oval faces, which can be seen in “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion” (fig. 125). The figures in those two groups, especially the first, are similar to those in Turkman manuscripts from the second half of

---

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 108, Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:30-32 and Canby, “Safavid painting,” 76.

<sup>189</sup> Canby, “Safavid painting,” 73-74.

the fifteenth century as in the *Anthology* probably produced in Shamakha (Shirvan) in 1468 (fig. 197).<sup>190</sup>

The third group of figures has squat bodies with wider sloping shoulders, round doll-like faces, short necks and expressive figures with naturalistic proportions.<sup>191</sup> These features are apparent in “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (fig. 44), “Khusraw’s lion combat” (fig. 50), “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” (fig. 56), “Khusraw and Shirin united” (fig. 88) and “Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” (fig. 144). The fourth group has the same features as the third group, but the figures have elongated bodies and are larger in scale, as seen in “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (fig. 138) and “Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait” (fig. 151). The fifth group has elongated bodies with sloping shoulders, a very long cylindrical neck and a large round face, such as in the figure of Khusraw in “Khusraw watching Shirin bathing” (fig. 45). The last group includes some of the figures in “Iskandar and the dying Dara” and “Iskandar and the wise shepherd,” who are similar to those of the third group but have more expressive faces and a different body shape that is fuller at the lower part (figs. 146, 156).

All the figures in the last four groups, except for those in “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle scene,” are shown wearing the Safavid turban with the red baton. The Safavid turban or *taj* (crown) is a single piece skullcap topped with a cone-shaped peak and when the turban is wound around the *taj*, the only part that is visible is the peak, which appears as a red baton rising from the middle of the turban.<sup>192</sup> Both in this *Khamsa* and in Asafi’s *Jamal and Jalal*, the Safavid turban is still depicted with a thick and

---

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>191</sup> Welch, *A King’s Book*, 44.

<sup>192</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:30.

stumpy red baton rather than the narrow and tall shape seen in the later Safavid manuscripts, which may indicate that the turban itself was still finding its final shape.<sup>193</sup>

Some similarities in the shape of the figures belonging to the last four groups can be noticed in some of those depicted in Asafi's *Jamal and Jalal*, as the figures of Iskandar and his sword-bearer standing behind him in "Iskandar and the wise shepherd" (fig. 155), are similar to the enthroned bearded figure and his sword-bearer depicted in the "Mihirai gives advice" (f. 15a, fig. 212). In "Khusraw's lion combat," the spectators are depicted in different ways, as if they were done by different artists or an artist who was trying different styles (fig. 51). Soucek mentions that the faces of Khusraw and Shirin in this scene were completed by the Safavid painter Sultan Muhammad, which makes us question whether this illustration was originally sketched under the Aq Quyunlu and was later finished by the Safavid painters.<sup>194</sup>

Animal figures are widely used in illustrations in this *Khamsa*, either in those from the Aq Quyunlu or the Safavid addition. Most of those animal scenes, such as the bear throwing a stone (fig. 53) or the leopard hiding among the rocky hills (fig. 117), animals hiding inside caves (figs. 119, 137) or the flock of sheep and goats (fig. 156) are depicted in later Safavid paintings such as the Tahmasp *Shahnama*.

### **3.5 Color Scheme:**

The rich color palette in almost all the illustrations in this *Khamsa* is one of the common features that artists of different artistic backgrounds, style and patronage share in this manuscript. The artists, especially those working under the Safavids, were able to

---

<sup>193</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube. *Peerless Images*, 62.

<sup>194</sup> Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad," 58.

conceive a whole picture as color compositions, sometimes inventing breathtaking palettes based on relatively simple combinations of colors, to produce color clusters which lead our eyes from one part to the next.<sup>195</sup>

In some illustrations, the scene's main elements are done in a vivid or intense color palette and set against a pastel color horizon to attract the viewer's eyes to the main scene (fig. 6). Elsewhere, the main scene is colored in vivid tones and set against a much darker color palette as in "Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion" and "Bahram Gur at the green pavilion" (figs. 23, 24). In those two scenes, the pavilions are depicted using a bright color palette including, rich lapis lazuli, salmon pink and orange, and are set against a dark color palette with an acid green set against brilliant blue, which is considered similar to the Herat style exemplified by Bihzad.<sup>196</sup> Other illustrations are fully colored with vibrant tones, even the scene's horizon, which makes the viewer linger to differentiate the scene itself and the horizon (fig. 30). One of the Turkman influences on later Safavid paintings is the use of highlights for foliage and for the rocky landscape, which is highly detailed in this illustration (fig. 159).<sup>197</sup>

Later under Shah Tahmasp, selecting the color palette for the illustrations did not only depend on the organization but was employed for other purposes too, such as the establishment of mood and the staccato arrangement of dynamic tones that are used in battle scenes. A palette of deep red was chosen for the love scenes portrayed under a deep blue sky, representing the darkness of night and the combination of red, orange, violet

---

<sup>195</sup> Welch, *A King's Book*, 29.

<sup>196</sup> Blair and Bloom, *Islam*, 68.

<sup>197</sup> Çagman and Tanindi, *Topkapi*, no. 72, 113.

and yellow for exceptionally fantastical and fantasy scenes, such as “The court of Gayumars” in Shah Tahmasp’s *Shahnama* (fig. 229).<sup>198</sup>

---

<sup>198</sup> Welch, *A King’s Book*, 29.

## Chapter Four

### Style, Grouping and Attributions

#### 4.1 Grouping the Illustrations

In the second half of the fifteenth century the Qara Quyunlu adopted the Timurid style in both Herat and Shiraz, and their development of the pictorial and decorative style, illumination, binding and calligraphy. During the 1450s and early 1460s, under the patronage of Pir Budaq, the Qara Quyunlu not only reproduced the aesthetic of earlier Timurid manuscripts, but also blended Herat and Shiraz styles, which under the Timurids, had been quite distinct, into a coherent style strongly influenced by Herat.<sup>199</sup> Under the Aq Quyunlu, the Turkman style was divided into two styles; the “Commercial” style, which some scholars identify as the “standard” Shiraz style, and the “Brownish” style, which was given the name *Kumral* (Brownish) by Turkish scholars, while other scholars identify it as the “Delicate” or “Provincial” style.<sup>200</sup>

The Commercial style in manuscript production, which dates from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, reached its peak of development between 1475 and 1500 and became significant for the large Shiraz output that continued until the reign of Shah Tahmasp.<sup>201</sup> This style is characterized by its stocky, child-like figures with features and hair rendered in black or pink, and a background that is either pale with small tufts of grass or vegetation of large-scale bushes.<sup>202</sup>

---

<sup>199</sup> Robinson, *Problems and Issues*, 39-40 and Roxburgh, “Timurid and Turkman,” 200.

<sup>200</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 457, Robinson, “Turkman School,” 244, Brend, “A Brownish Study,” 81-98 and Rettig, *La production*, 222-226.

<sup>201</sup> Robinson, “Turkman School,” 243.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 244 and Rettig, *La production*, 226.

The Brownish style flourished alongside the Commercial style in Shiraz between 1470 and 1490. This style is characterized by the small dots forming the contours of the landscape and of the human figures, giving the illustration a softer quality, according to Soucek. The figures have a child-like appearance, and are more slender than those depicted in the Commercial style. A subdued color palette renders the skin and hair of the figures in a brownish color, with a background done in hues of pale blue and pink as well as white, and dotted with close tufts of grass, similar to the illustrations from Baghdad produced under Pir Budaq.<sup>203</sup> This style is found in H. 761 illustrations attributed to the second phase of additions, which were done under the patronage of Sultan Khalil in Shiraz.

At the Aq Quyunlu royal atelier in Tabriz, the characteristics of the Brownish and Commercial styles were combined to introduce a new phase of the Turkman style, which developed a more vibrant palette and dynamic composition. This innovation appears in a double-page hunting scene probably done for Uzun Hasan between 1467 and 1473 (RNL, Dorn 434) (ff. 81b-82a, figs. 199a-b), which in 956/1549 was inserted into a contemporary copy of Sam Mirza's Jami, *Sisilat al-dhahhab (Chain of Gold)* as its frontispiece and in the Aq Quyunlu illustrations to this *Khamisa*.

Based on the illustrative style of this *Khamisa*, the first seven illustrated folios in the *Haft Paykar* (ff. 163b, 167a, 171b, 177b, 180b, 183b and 187a) are depicted in the new Turkman manner.<sup>204</sup> In these illustrations the contour of the rocky landscape, which is fairly densely covered with close tufts of grass, is formed of small dots as in the Brownish style, but using far more vivid colors (figs. 93, 108, 114, 119). In "Bahram Gur

---

<sup>203</sup> Soucek, *Nizami's Khamseh*, 457-458.

<sup>204</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube, *Peerless Images*, 110 and Robinson, "Turkman School," 241.

at the yellow pavilion” and “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion,” however the landscape is done in a subdued color palette (figs. 23, 24). The round or oval-shaped faces of the figures in the new Turkman style are child-like, and the bodies either flat in some illustrations or elongated in others, which is another similarity with the Brownish style. The background is comprised of hills with rocky edges, which are in darker tones than the hills, and large-scale bushes. The new Turkman style presented in the seven illustrations, especially “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” and “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion,” are also distinguished by their joyous palette and the humor seen in the faces appearing in the rocky edge (figs. 109, 110, 114), as well as by the interesting genre scenes.

The illustrations produced after the Safavids took over Tabriz in the early sixteenth century show that they not only inherited the Aq Quyunlu royal atelier, but also their style. The Safavid artists developed the Aq Quyunlu style, forming another with more intricate and detailed compositions and consistent color palette.<sup>205</sup> The early Safavid style is seen in the group of illustrations from this *Khamsa* that depict the Safavid turban with the red baton, “The *mi‘raj*,” “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (f. 12a), “Khusraw watches Shirin bathing” (f. 38b), “Khusraw’s lion combat” (f. 46a), “Khusraw and Shirin united” (f. 89b), “The Suicide of Shirin,” “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (f. 192a), “Iskandar and the dying Dara” (f. 233a), “Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait” (f. 244a) and “Iskandar and the wise Shepherd” (f. 285a).

Based on their style and composition, some sixteen illustrations are categorized into two groups: the Aq Quyunlu additions (ff. 163b, 167a, 171b, 177b, 180b, 183b and

---

<sup>205</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:15-20 and 30-32.

187a) and the Safavid additions (“The *mi‘raj*,” “The Suicide of Shirin,” and ff. 12a, 38b, 46a, 89b, 192a, 196a, 233a, 244a, 285a), leaving four illustrations (“Khusraw visiting Shirin’s Palace,” and ff. 51b, 69a, 82b) uncategorized. Earlier categorizations of the illustrations in this *Khamsa* were mainly based on either the presence or the absence of the Safavid turban with the red baton, even if the illustrations’ composition and style were not commensurate with the suggested dating.<sup>206</sup>

One of the three illustrations with a composition and style similar to the Safavid additions to this *Khamsa* is “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” (f. 51b, fig. 10). A late fifteenth century illustrated copy of Ibn Husam’s *Khawarannama* is considered of prime importance in the study of the Turkman and the Safavid styles in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries.<sup>207</sup> The *Khawarannama*, which is a Shi‘a text on the life of ‘Ali, the prophet’s cousin and son-in-law, originally contained 155 illustrations, some of which bear dates between 1476 and 1487, as well as the signature of the artist, “the last of God’s servitors,” Farhad. Scholars date this manuscript from around 1480 and attribute the style of the illustrations to Shiraz workshops.<sup>208</sup> Today, these *Khawarannama* illustrations are distributed between collections in America, the Chester Beatty Library and the Museum of Decorative arts in Tehran, the last of which owns the greater part.<sup>209</sup>

In the *Khawarannama* the figures are depicted wearing different types of headgear, such as a white turban with a slightly projected red or black skullcap (figs. 202); a war helmet with a short flowing ribbon on the top (fig. 203) or a cone-shaped turban with a black and white feather plume attached to its upper part. The first two types

---

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 134 and 242, Stchoukine, *la “Khamseh” de Nizami*, 72-79 and Canby, *Persian Painting*, 77.

<sup>207</sup> Robinson, *Bodleian Library*, 27 and Grube, *Miniature Paintings*, 61-62.

<sup>208</sup> Robinson, *Bodleian Library*, 27 and Gray, *Persian Painting*, 106.

<sup>209</sup> Gray, *Persian Painting*, 105.

of headgear are depicted in “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” scene, in which some of the figures, including Bahram Chubin’s chief advisor, are depicted wearing a white turban with a slightly projected black skullcap (fig. 68), while the war helmets either have the flowing ribbon (fig. 59) or the black and white feather plume on top of the headgear (fig. 63). Beside the similarity with the turbans shown in the *Khawarannama*, the shape of the Safavid turban is not considered fully developed at the time this *Khamsa* nor at the time of Asafi’s *Jamal and Jalal*, which means that “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle” may have been an addition at a time when the Safavid style was still under formation.<sup>210</sup>

The presence of certain features associated with the Safavid style may support this interpretation. These include the polylobed medallion inscribed with the Shi‘a connotation, Allah, Muhammad and ‘Ali, decorating some of the flapping flags in the painting (fig. 61). The same inscription appears on a domed brick building with the date 910 (1505) in “The *mi‘raj*,” which provide a *terminus ante quem* for the painting.<sup>211</sup> The intricate composition of the painting and its stylistic similarities with others in this *Khamsa* indicate that this illustration was part of the Safavid additions. Other similarities include the style of the overlapping hillocks with colorful rocky edges (fig.66) that are rendered similarly to those in “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (fig. 43), and “Khusraw’s lion combat” (fig. 55). Also, the shape and arrangement of the figures (fig. 57) is similar to those in “Iskandar and the dying Dara” (fig. 150).

In “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle,” the text columns are decorated with golden floral scrolls with red flowers on a blue background. The clouds surrounding the

---

<sup>210</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube. *Peerless Images*, 62.

<sup>211</sup> Gruber, *Muhammad’s Ascension*, 267.

text separate it from the illuminated background. In this *Khamsa*, there are only four illustrations with illuminated text columns: “The *mi‘raj*,” “Khusraw’s lion combat,” (f. 46a) “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace,” and “The Suicide of Shirin,” beside the postscript dated to the early sixteenth century, where the text columns are decorated. “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” is the only painting, beside “Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle,” where the Safavid turban with the red baton is not depicted, but this illustration nonetheless shares the style and composition of the others, which attributes it to the Safavid addition. If we consider the illumination in the text columns as another common feature between the illustrations added by the Safavids, beside the similarity in style and composition, we may also attribute “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” to the Safavid addition.

Most scholars attribute the two unfinished illustrations, “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” (f. 69a, fig. 11) and “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (f. 82b, fig. 13) to the artist of “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” (fig. 12). As suggested above, the presence of the Safavid turban was not yet an essential feature when this *Khamsa* was produced, and so dating those three illustrations has to be supported with evidence from style and composition. The front of the polygonal pavilion in “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” is almost identical to that in “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace,” except in the arrangement of the figures within the structure, which is more crowded at the pavilion entrance in “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (fig. 82) than in “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” (figs. 78), and likewise on the balcony (figs. 83, 76). Crowding the building with figures is also a feature seen in “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (figs. 44, 42), “The Suicide of

Shirin” (fig. 15), “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (fig. 27) and “Iskandar and the wise shepherd” (fig. 33).

The figures in both scenes have the same round faces and ball-like head on a long and thin cylindrical neck, and body shape, which can be noticed in the figure on foot in “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (fig. 85), and similarly in “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” (fig. 78). The shapes of the figure on foot and of the horses in the leaving scene are similar to those in “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” (figs. 43, 44). Based on the similarities mentioned among the illustrations showing the Safavid turban with the red baton, I would suggest that this illustration is far more likely Safavid than Aq Quyunlu, but any certainty regarding the date is made even more difficult because this is an unfinished illustration.

In this *Khamsa*, “The *mi‘raj*,” “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman,” “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse,” and “Khusraw’s lion combat” all show similarities, especially in the arrangement of the main figures, with their equivalents in H. 761, which are datable to the period of Sultan Khalil. Based on the fact that three of these four illustrations show the Safavid turban with the red baton and are illustrated in early Safavid style, it could be possible that this group of illustrations, including “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse,” were done by Safavid artists, who used H. 761 as a reference. Other similarities between the four illustrations include stylistic features such as the hills with the colorful rocky edges and the exceptionally small-scaled figures at the bottom of the scene, except in the Sultan Sanjar scene, and in the highly decorated architectural setting. Common features with “Khusraw leaving Shirin’s palace” such as the architectural setting, the figures and the dragon-heads, may increase the possibility

that this scene is Safavid, but no definite conclusion can be reached, again because the illustration is unfinished.

Regarding a connection between the four illustrations and their equivalent in H. 761, Titley in her study of the origin of the composition stated that it is hard to know whether artists actually had the manuscripts or whether they worked from sketches.<sup>212</sup> She concluded that if the composition of two manuscripts were very similar, especially in the arrangement of the figures, it indicated that the artist had access to the earlier manuscript.<sup>213</sup> The main figures in each of “The *mi’raj*,” “Khusraw’s lion combat,” and “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” are similar if not identical to those in H. 761, which according to Titley’s interpretation, may indicate that the artists had access to this manuscript. This would lead us to another question about depicting an architectural setting in “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse,” which, as suggested in the previous chapter, is an erroneous depiction of the scene described in the text. How could an artist confuse this scene with another, if he had a reference to this painting in H. 761, in which no architectural setting is shown? Is it possible that the artist was trying to experiment a new composition for this traditional scene, even if it does not follow the text? None of the paintings in this *Khamsa* moved far from the traditions or from what is mentioned in the text, and this leaves us still looking for the reason for such a dramatic change in “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse.”

Some of this *Khamsa*’s paintings are considered originally begun by a Turkam artist and completed later by an artist active in the Safavid atelier. Gruber attributed “The *mi’raj*” as one of those paintings based on the appearance of the prophet’s facial features,

---

<sup>212</sup> Titley, “Miniature Painting,” 471.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 474 and 484.

although they are damaged, beneath the white veil, which was a feature that characterized “The *mi‘raj*” in pre-Safavid paintings.<sup>214</sup>

#### 4.2 This *Khamsa*’s Illustrations and the Istanbul Albums

Previous studies referred to a resemblance between certain features shown in this *Khamsa*’s illustrations, datable both to the Aq Quyunlu and Safavid period, and illustrations mounted in two of the Istanbul albums (TKS, H. 2153 and H. 2156), which earlier scholars linked to Ya‘qub Beg, based on the many attributions written in them to Shaykhi and Darvish Muhammad. Earlier studies by Dickson and Welch and also by Andrews attribute some of those albums’ illustrations, such as “The outdoor enthronement” (ff. 90b–91a, fig. 236) in H. 2153, to Shaykhi based on the style, especially the shape of the figures.<sup>215</sup> This illustration is considered similar to some of the paintings in this *Khamsa* that are datable to the Aq Quyunlu, such as “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” (f. 180b, fig. 24).

“The outdoor enthronement” may share the general characteristics of the paintings in this *Khamsa* in the Turkman style but they are not identical. This is noticeable in the same feature Dickson and Welch, as well as Andrew, depended on in their arguments, the style of the figures. Differences can be seen between all the figures of Bahram Gur in this *Khamsa* (figs. 97, 98, 106, 111, 115, 120, 125) and in the central figure in “The outdoor enthronement” (fig. 238). In same painting, the edge of the rocky ground has ridges indicated by dots and dashes of a darker color with a light wash below. In recent studies on some of the illustrations in Istanbul albums, including H. 2153, and the Diez albums,

---

<sup>214</sup> Gruber, *Muhammad’s Ascension*, 265.

<sup>215</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:20 and Andrews, “Istanbul Album,” 110.

O’Kane attributes this distinctive treatment to Jalayirid Tabriz or Baghdad, based on the presence of the same treatment of hillocks in the three paintings of the Great Jalayirid *Shahnama*, which are mounted in H. 2153, and dated to the reign of the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Uvays (d. 1374).<sup>216</sup>

The dates of the illustrations mounted in the Istanbul albums are controversial, but whatever the dates, there is a resemblance between these and the illustrations in this *Khamsa*. This similarity reinforces the possibility that the Aq Quyunlu and the Safavid artists in Tabriz were aware of those illustrations either by working in other royal ateliers that kept those illustrations before they joined the Tabriz workshop or by being introduced to them in the Tabriz royal atelier. Among the common features is the shape of the bearded figures in “Fitna’s feat of strength” (f. 167a, fig. 102) and those in “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion” (f. 187a, fig. 130), which resemble some of the bearded figures in “The dervish” in H. 2153 (f. 32a, fig. 237).

In “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (f. 69a), the back pavilion has an exceptional roof structure from which spring dragon-headed struts hung with flying tassels (fig. 86). The same struts are shown in the scene of “Farhad carries Shirin on her horse” springing from part of the pavilion in the background (fig. 73b) and from one edge of the fence in the foreground (fig. 73a). These dragon-headed struts are shown in the two scenes of palanquins carried by demons, which are illustrated on silk and pasted over facing pages in H. 2153 (ff. 164b–165a, figs. 241, 242). O’Kane notes a resemblance between the face of the queen with the heavily arched eyebrows that join in the middle with small vertical mark above them in the palanquin slung below two demons (fig. 241), and the face of the

---

<sup>216</sup> O’Kane, “Siyah Qalam,” 2-4 and idem, “The Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*,” 471-477.

female figure in “The thief is beaten in the bedroom” (f. 24a, fig. 165) from a Jalayirid copy of *Kalila and Dimna* manuscript.<sup>217</sup> He mentions that the feature of the heavily arched eyebrows is not a feature exclusively Jalayirid, but is the earliest datable examples are from the 1370s onward.<sup>218</sup> On the other hand, Sims dates those two palanquin scenes to the period between the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries,<sup>219</sup> while Roxburgh suggests the period from the early to the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>220</sup> In a more recent study, White suggested that the palanquin scenes were painted during the Qara Qyunlu period and establish a correspondence between the family of Pir Budaq and its Solomonic counterpart of history and myth.<sup>221</sup>

Another painting in H. 2153 is “The monastery,” which shows a multi storey polygonal building with a main entrance on the right side that is crowded with figures busy in different activities (f. 131b, fig. 239). The structure of the building in this painting is similar to the pavilion shown in “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace” (fig. 12) and “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” (fig. 13), while the decoration resembles that seen in “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion” (fig. 27) and “Bahram Gur at the white pavilion” (fig. 28). The crowding of the scene with figures and the depiction of children is also seen in the Safavid illustrations in this *Khamsa*, while the position of some of the figures is shown in both Aq Qyunlu and Safavid illustrations, such as the white-bearded man who is pulling on a string (fig. 240), and who is similar to the male attendant probably pulling down a cover cloth over the tent in “Bahram Gur at the blue pavilion”

---

<sup>217</sup> O’Kane, “Siyah Qalam,” 7 and 9.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>219</sup> Sims, Marshak and Grube, *Peerless Images*, 324-326.

<sup>220</sup> Roxburgh, “Timurid and Turkman,” no. 141.

<sup>221</sup> White, “*The Monastery*,” 29.

(fig. 134). Scholars disagree about the date of “The monastery” is another illustrations that scholars disagree on its date, as they do about the two palanquins scenes and most of the albums illustrations.

The parallel between certain details in the illustrations of this *Khamsa* and in those mounted in the Istanbul albums does not give definite proof of the origin of the album’s illustrations, which is not the subject of this study, but it does show the possibility that Tabriz artists during both dynasties had access to the content of those albums or at least were familiar with them. This likelihood may explain the dramatic change the Turkman style that took place in the Ya‘qub atelier in Tabriz but it lacks solid evidence, and therefore remains only a possibility.

#### **4.3 This *Khamsa*’s Artists**

The names of Shaykhi and Darvish Muhammad are very well known in the history of Persian painting and yet nothing is known about those two artists or their style, except that they exceptionally skilled artists in the Aq Qyunlu royal atelier. Their fame, especially Shaykhi’s, came from a large number of attributions written in illustrations mounted in some of the Istanbul albums. Interpretations of Shaykhi’s style have been made by comparing this *Khamsa*’s paintings, which are dateble to the Aq Qyunlu period, with others that include attributions to Shaykhi in the Istanbul albums. Consequently, the illustrations in the *Haft Paykar* have been identified as Shaykhi’s style, and the two most exquisite in the group, “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion” and “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion,” were attributed to him, while the rest were attributed to his students. Darvish Muhammad’s style on the other hand is a little vague, especially

due to the very limited number of illustrations attributed to him in the albums. Earlier scholars attributed what had been excluded from Shaykhi's style to Darvish Muhammad, which included the three scenes dominated with architectural settings.

According to Dickson and Welch, a *Treatise* on calligraphers and painters written by Qutb al-Din Muhammad, who was a calligrapher in the court of Shah Tahmasp and is known as *Qissa-khvan* (the Storyteller or Reciter) of Yazd in 1556-1557, was commissioned to assemble an album that was never completed, and the *Treatise* was the preface of this album.<sup>222</sup> The original manuscript has been lost and the *Treatise* is known from other copies. In this *Treatise*, Qutb al-Din cited two schools of paintings that were distinguishable at the end of the fifteenth century, a "Khurasani" or an Eastern school centered at the Timurid court in Herat with Bihzad its leading painter, and an "Iraqi" or Western school favored at the Turkman court in Tabriz with the masters Darvish and Khalifa Muhammad as its paragons.<sup>223</sup>

The date in which Bihzad, the better-known artist of the three, became the head of the Timurid atelier in Herat is uncertain, however. Assuming that Darvish is the same person as Darvish Muhammad, while Shaykhi and Khalifa Muhammad are not, we can question whether Khalifa came before or after Shaykhi. Based on the assumption that the style of the Aq Quyunlu illustrations of the *Haft Paykar* is Shaykhi's style, Stchoukine suggested that Shaykhi was the older of the two artists since he was the one who used what he called "the old style."<sup>224</sup> This would suggest that Khalifa Muhammad came after Shaykhi, and Stchoukine's assumption that Darvish Muhammad worked under the

---

<sup>222</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:51-52.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid 51-52.

<sup>224</sup> Stchoukine, *la "Khamseh" de Nizami*, 81.

Safavid may be true. The stylistic similarities between the only illustrations attributed to Darvish Muhammad in this *Khamsa*: “Khusraw visits Shirin’s palace,” and that of “Khusraw leaves Shirin’s palace” beside the assumption that he worked under the Safavid, may indicate that this artist had a role in the formation of the Safavid style under Shah Isma‘il. Determining which of the two artists merely mentioned in the colophon remains speculations built on no concrete basis.

In a supplement to Fakhri Sultan Muhammad’s *Lata’ifnama* (BL, Add. 7669) (f. 98), a translation of Mir ‘Ali Shir’s *Majalis al-Nafa’is* (1521), it is mentioned that one of Bihzad’s pupils named Darvish Muhammad Naqqash was first a maker of oil colors, and that he subsequently became an artist.<sup>225</sup> However, this Darvish Muhammad could not be the same Darvish Muhammad who was a master himself by the time the illustrations were added to this manuscript at the end of the fifteenth century.

The Safavid illustrations in this manuscript have been connected in one way or another to the most famous Safavid painter of the early sixteenth century, known as Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi or ‘Iraqi.<sup>226</sup> One of the most prominent painters in the Safavid royal atelier at Tabriz under the patronage of Shah Isma‘il and Shah Tahmasp, his career before the reign of Shah Tahmasp was mainly built on attributing illustrations to him, based on their similarity in style with very few paintings bearing his signature, dating from the reign of Shah Tahmasp.

Based on its stylistic analysis in chapter three, “Bahram Gur at the Sandalwood pavilion” shows a resemblance, in both style and composition, to four illustrations from different manuscripts; “The death of Jalal” in Asafi’s *Jamal and Jalal* (f. 108a, fig. 215),

---

<sup>225</sup> Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, 76, Arnold, *Bihzad*, 15-16 and Stchoukine, *tīmūrides*, 27.

<sup>226</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:30-32 and Soucek, “Sultan Muhammad,” 55-70.

“Sleeping Rustam” (fig. 220) and “Rustam lassoing Kamus,” (fig. 223), detached from an unfinished copy of the *Shahnama* from around 1515-1522, and “Iskandar and the wise shepherd” in this *Khamsa* (fig. 33). The evident similarities may indicate that they were done by the same painter, and since the “Rustam sleeping” painting is attributed to Sultan Muhammad; he may be the painter of the other three illustrations.

As “Khusraw watches Shirin bathing” and “Iskandar and the dying Dara” display the same style and composition, they may well also have been produced by the same artist. Dickson and Welch as well as Soucek attribute “Iskandar and the dying Dara” to Sultan Muhammad due to the circular arrangement of the figures, seen in some of the Shah Tahmasp’s *Shahnama* paintings attributed to Sultan Muhammad, such as “Tahmuras defeats the divs” (f. 23b, fig. 231), “The feats of Sadeh” (f. 22b, fig. 230) and “The court of Gayumars” (f. 20b, fig. 229).<sup>227</sup> “Iskandar and dying Dara” may share the same arrangement with those in Shah Tahmasp’s *Shahnama*, but the style is different, making it hard to accept that this is the work of the same painter. Although a compositional trend may be shared by different painters, the subtleties within it can distinguish the work of one artist from another.

Although Dickson and Welch attribute “Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait” to Sultan Muhammad, based on the presence of the rock faces and the color palette, the work lacks Sultan Muhammad’s style in the intricate details, and in the trees and blossoms as well as the busy compositions.<sup>228</sup> The same objection could apply to Soucek’s argument in attributing both “Sultan Sanjar and the old woman” and “Khusraw’s lion combat” to Sultan Muhammad, based on features characterizing the Aq

---

<sup>227</sup> Soucek, “Sultan Muhammad,” 56 and Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:30-32.

<sup>228</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:32.

Quyunlu and the Safavid paintings in this *Khamsa*, rather than on the details of Sultan Muhammad's style.<sup>229</sup> Integrating figures into the landscape is a common feature in this *Khamsa*, as the colored rocky rim, which is shown in "Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle," "Khusraw watching Shirin bathing," "Farhad carries Shirin on her horse" and "Iskandar and the dying Dara". Also, the colors used for the figures' cloaks and garments also appear in other scenes such as "Iskandar and the dying Dara," "Nushaba shows Iskandar his own portrait" and "Iskandar and the wise shepherd," in which the first two illustrations were suggested not to be Sultan Muhammad's work. Based on their style, it is possible that "Sultan Sanjar and the old woman" (f. 12a), "Khusraw's lion combat" (f. 46a) and "Khusraw and Bahram Chubin in battle" (f. 51b) were produced by the same artist who was probably not Sultan Muhammad.

Dickson and Welch saw that the use of Turkman features in the illustrations either done by Sultan Muhammad or attributed to him do not seem to be that of an artist trained in the royal workshop at Tabriz under the Aq Quyunlu, but rather resemble that of a painter who came to Tabriz at the beginning of the sixteenth century and had been suddenly exposed to the great wealth of manuscripts and albums inherited by Shah Isma' il from the Turkman dynasty.<sup>230</sup> This interpretation is no more than the authors' personal opinion, based on the contents of the Tabriz royal workshop that we know nothing about. Attributing most of the illustrations in this *Khamsa* to Sultan Muhammad, whether it is true or not, shows how the royal atelier at Tabriz was rich with talented painters from different artistic backgrounds during the period this *Khamsa* was illustrated. Manuscripts like this *Khamsa* gave the Safavid artist the opportunity to

---

<sup>229</sup> Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad," 56-58.

<sup>230</sup> Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:69.

experiment with different styles and techniques, drawing from the heritage of Persian painting to set new rules for the new era of Persian painting under the Safavids.

## Conclusion

This manuscript, which is an exceptional one in every way, dates from a period when Persian painting was changing after a century of using the Timurid style, both in Shiraz and Herat. This *Khamsa* shows us how artists in the Tabriz workshop, under both Ya‘qub and Shah Isma‘il, had the opportunity to experiment and mix different styles. This factor was essential in the formation of the Safavid style under Shah Tahmasp.

In this research, the illustrations of this *Khamsa* are categorized into two groups: those from the Aq Quyunlu under Ya‘qub Beg (fols. 163b, 167a, 171b, 177b, 180b, 183b and 187a) and those dated to the Safavid period (fols. 12a, 38b, 46a, 51b, 69a, 82b, 89b, 192a, 196a, 233a, 244a and 285a). Those paintings in this *Khamsa* show the possibility that the Tabriz royal atelier housed some interesting sources, whether those mounted today in the Istanbul albums or earlier manuscripts, that stimulated some of the artists under both the Aq Quyunlu and the Safavid to work towards a new style by mixing different features from different styles, such as in the paintings of “Bahram Gur at the yellow pavilion,” “Bahram Gur at the green pavilion” and “Bahram Gur at the sandalwood pavilion”.

We may not be able to identify for certain which of the Aq Quyunlu illustrations are the work of Shaykhi or Darvish Muhammad in this *Khamsa*, but the extent of their influence on the Safavid artists in the Safavid illustrations is obvious nonetheless. The illustrations in this *Khamsa* show influences from the Jalayirid and Timurid styles in Herat and Shiraz, from the Qara Quyunlu style in Shiraz and Baghdad, and even from the contemporary Timurid Herat style. This eclecticism, which drew from the various threads

of the Persian painting tradition, makes the style of those illustrations, produced at the end of the fifteenth century and throughout the early sixteenth century, a beautiful summary of Persian painting heritage.

## Abbreviations

BL	London, British Library
CBL	Dublin, Cheaster Beatty Library
GPL	Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library
HM	St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum
IUL	Istanbul, Istanbul University Library
RAS	London, Royal Asiatic Society
RNL	Russian National Library
TKS	Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Library
UUL	Uppsala, Uppsala University Library

## Bibliography

- Andrews, Peter A. "The Turco-Mongol Context of Some Objects Shown in the Istanbul Album Pictures," in *Between China and Iran: Painting From Four Istanbul Album*, ed. Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims (London, 1985), 110-120.
- Arnold, Thomas W. *Painting in Islam: A Study of The Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture* (Oxford, 1928).
- Arnold, Thomas W. and Adolf Grohmann. *The Islamic Book: A Contribution to Its Art and History from the VII-XVIII Century* (Paris, 1929).
- Arnold, Thomas W. *Bihzad and His Paintings in the Zafar-nāmah* (London, 1930).
- Binyon, Laurence. *The Poems of Nizami* (London, 1928).
- Blair, Sheila S. *Islamic Calligraphy* (Cairo, 2006).
- Blair, Sheila S. and Jonathan M. Bloom. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (New Haven, 1994).
- Brend, Barbara. "A Brownish Study: The Kumral Style in Persian Painting, Its Connections and Origins," *Islamic Art* 6 (2009), 81-98.
- Brend, Barbara. *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi* (London, 2010).
- Canby, Sheila R. "Safavid Painting," in *Hunt For Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501-1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (Milano, 2003), 73-133.
- Canby, Sheila R. "The World of the Early Safavids: The Safavid Dynasty and Shah Isma'īl I, 1501-24," in *Hunt For Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501-1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (Milano, 2003), 3-7.

- Canby, Sheila R. "Safavid Illumination," in *Hunt For Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501-1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (Milano, 2003), 135-153.
- Canby, Sheila R. *Persian Painting* (Massachusetts, 2005).
- Çağman, Filiz and Zeren Tanindi. *Islamic Miniature Painting: Topkapi Saray Museum* (Istanbul, 1979).
- Çağman, Filiz and Zeren Tanindi. *Topkapi Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, trans and ed. J. M. Rogers (Istanbul, 1979).
- Dickson, Martin Bernard and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1981).
- Gharipour, Mohammad. *Persian Gardens and Pavilions: Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts* (London, 2013).
- Grabar, Oleg. *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting* (Princeton, 2000).
- Gray, Basil. *Persian Painting* (London, 1977).
- Gray, Basil. "The School of Shiraz from 1392 to 1453," in *The Arts of The Book in Central Asia: 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray (London, 1979), 121-44.
- Grube, Ernst J. *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century from collections in the United States and Canada: Catalogue of the Exhibition* (Venezia, 1962).
- Grube, Ernst J. "The School of Herat from 1400 to 1450," in *The Arts of The Book in Central Asia: 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray (London, 1979), 146-178.
- Gruber, Christiane J. *The Prophet Muhammad's Ascension (Mi'raj) in Islamic Art and Literature, ca. 1300-1600*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005.
- O'Kane, Bernard. "Rock Faces and Rock Figures in Persian Painting," *Islamic Art* 4 (1993), 219-246.

- O’Kane, Bernard. *Early Persian Painting: Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century* (Cairo, 2003).
- O’Kane, Bernard. “Siyah Qalam: The Jalayirid Connections,” *Oriental Art* 49 (2003), 2-18.
- O’Kane, Bernard. “The Great Jalayirid Shāhnāma,” in *The Diez Albums: Contexts and Contents*, ed. Julia Gonnella, Friederike Weis and Christoph Rauch (Leiden, 2017), 469-484.
- Qādī Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, trans. V. Minorsky (Washington, 1959).
- Rettig, Simon. *La Production manuscrite à Chiraz sous les Aq Qoyyunlu entre 1467 et 1503*, Ph.D. diss., Aix-Marseille I University, 2011.
- Robinson, B.W. “Origin and Date of Three Famous “Shāh-Nāme” Illustrations,” *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954).
- Robinson, B.W. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1958).
- Robinson, B.W. *Persian Drawings from The 14<sup>th</sup> Through The 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (New York, 1965).
- Robinson, B.W. “Persian and Pre-Mughal Indian Painting,” in *The Keir Collection: Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, ed. B.W. Robinson (London, 1976), 215-244.
- Robinson, B.W. “The Turkman School to 1503,” in *The Arts of The Book in Central Asia: 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray (London, 1979), 215-244.
- Robinson, B.W. *Fifteenth-Century Persian Painting: Problems and Issues* (New York, 1991).

- Roemer, H.R. "The Türkmen Dynasties," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1981), 6:147-188.
- Roxburgh, David J. *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth Century Iran* (Boston, 2001).
- Roxburgh, David J. "The Timurid and Turkman Dynasties of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, c. 1370-1506," in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600*, ed. David J. Roxburgh (London, 2005), 190-259.
- Simpson, Marianna Shreve. *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-century Iran* (New Haven & London, 1997).
- Sims, Eleanor, Boris I. Marshak and Ernst J Grube. *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (London, 2002).
- Soucek, Priscilla P. *Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's Khamseh: 1386-1482*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1971.
- Soucek, Priscilla P. "Nizāmī on Painters and Painting," in *Islamic Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. B.W. Robinson (New York, 1972), 9-21.
- Soucek, Priscilla P. "Abd-al-Rahim kvarazmi," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 1982.
- Soucek, Priscilla P. "The New York Public Library "Makhzan al-asrār" and Its Importance," *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1988), 1-37.
- Soucek, Priscilla P. "Sultan Muhammad Tabriz: Painter at the Safavid Court," in *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (Bombay, 1990), 55-70.
- Stchoukine, Ivan. *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Tîmûrides* (Paris, 1954).
- Stchoukine, Ivan. "Une Khamseh de Nizāmī illustrée à Yazd entre 1142 et 1444," *Arts Asiatiques* 12 (1965), 3-20.

- Stchoukine, Ivan. "Les peintures turcomanes et Safavies: d'une Khamseh de Nizâmî, achevée à Tabrîz en 886/1481," *Arts Asiatiques* 14 (1966), 3-16.
- Stchoukine, Ivan. *Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizami au Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi d'Isyanbul* (Paris, 1977).
- Tanindi, Zeren. "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), 147-161.
- Tanindi, Zeren. "Safavid Bookbinding," in *Hunt For Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501-1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (Milano, 2003), 155-183.
- Thackston, W.M. *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Thackston, W.M. *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters* (Leiden, 2001).
- Titley, Norah M. "Persian Miniature Painting: The Repetition of Compositions During the Fifteenth Century," *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie* 7 (1976), 471-491.
- Uluç, Lâle. *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul, 2006).
- Welch, Stuart Cary. *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (New York, 1972).
- White, James. "A Sign of the End Time: 'The Monastery', Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi H. 2153 f. 131b," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 27 (2017), 1-30.
- Woods, John E. *The Aqqyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1999).

## Figures